

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A Short History by

J. P. BULKELEY



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Metropolitan Borough of St. Marylebone.

CENTRAL LENDING LIBRARY.

RULES AND REGULATIONS. A full copy of these is supplied gratis to borrowers on application.

HOURS. These are notified on Printed Notices at the Counter. (Rule 3).

TIME ALLOWED for reading this book 15 days including days of issue and return. A fine of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day or portion of a day if detained longer. (Rule 9.)

RENEWALS. Any book (except a work of fiction) may be re-borrowed for a further period of 15 days unless required by another reader. (Rule 11).

CARE OF BOOKS. Books must be kept clean, protected from wet weather, and any damage reported on return. Books will not be entrusted to messengers considered unfit to take care of them. (Rule 10.)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS of borrowers or their guarantors must be notified immediately. (Rule 14)

LOST TICKETS. To be notified as soon as possible. Borrowers are responsible for any books borrowed on their tickets. (Rule 15).

SATCHELS, BAGS & UMBRELLAS must be left with attendant. (Rule 4).

RESERVING OF BOOKS. This may be secured, except for works of fiction, by paying for a post-card notice. (Rule 13).

INFECTIOUS DISEASE. If infectious disease should break out in your house do not return this book, but inform the Librarian at once. Penalty for infringing this rule, or for knowingly permitting this book to be exposed to infection £5. Rule 16).

DUNCAN GRAY, F.L.A.

BOROUGH LIBRARIAN.

8554



LONDON BOROUGH
OF
LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the AnsaFone service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
A SHORT HISTORY



THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

A SHORT HISTORY

BY

J. P. BULKELEY, M.A. OXON.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE
AND FORMERLY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE OF NATAL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

WITHDRAWN
FROM
ST. MARYLEBONE
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1923

942

pp.

1855H

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen

New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town

Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai

HUMPHREY MILFORD

Publisher to the University

INTRODUCTION

MR. BULKELEY is equipped for writing an Introductory history of the British Empire for use in higher schools by personal knowledge of overseas countries both within and without the Empire, and by professional experience as an Education officer in Burma. He has set himself more especially to trace the growth of political institutions within the Empire and to emphasize the influence of geography on history. A short general narrative is given in the first four chapters. Then he deals in more detail with the four great provinces of the Empire, Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa ; and in a last chapter he treats of Modern Imperialism, not confining himself to the British Empire. He brings his narrative and his comments down to the present day, and therefore touches upon subjects which admit of difference of opinion. The merit of the book—a high merit, as it seems to me—consists in a certain originality of treatment, which marks it out from ordinary textbooks, and in the fact that it reflects the unity in diversity, which is the keynote of the Empire. The author shows that he has grasped the cardinal truth that English history and Empire history are one and the same, that Empire history is not an appendix or a series of appendices to English or British history, but part and parcel of it ; that the story is one of widening out on the same lines and of adapting the same principles to diverse geographical and racial conditions. The book is all one and yet can be used and studied in parts,

just as the Empire is all one and yet composed of members, each of which—as far as the greater provinces are concerned—is more or less complete in itself. By concentrating upon some parts of the Empire, instead of according to all parts uniform treatment, by omission no less than by inclusion, the author has brought into relief the outstanding features of the Empire as a whole. He has aimed at being clear and interesting, and he has succeeded, to my mind, in his aim. He has produced a suggestive and stimulating book, which should be provocative of further and more intensive study and therefore I venture to commend it heartily to students of the British Empire.

C. P. LUCAS.

January 1921.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS book has grown out of a course of lessons given during the winter term of 1916 at Wellington College, Berkshire, and owes its publication to a suggestion in the report of a Committee appointed by the Government of Burma in the same year to make recommendations for teaching the 'Imperial Idea' in that province. Though the author hopes his book will be read in Burma, he has not written it specially for that or any other country. It is intended for class-room use in secondary or continuation schools, as well as for any teachers or general readers who require an introductory history of the British Empire. Fairly advanced students might use the book as a 'holiday task', or for independent reading in term time. The subjects suggested for discussion at the end of each chapter supply suitable oral and written tests of such independent study.

History requires some central theme to make it intelligible or interesting. Books about our Empire written specially for boys of British race have naturally tended to emphasize the daring enterprise and personal achievements of their ancestors. This side of the Empire's story can never appeal so strongly to other races, and, as a central theme, it has been intentionally subordinated in this book to two other main interests, the growth of political institutions and the influence of geographical conditions on human life.

To emphasize the geographical interest the usual chronological method of narrative has been abandoned after Chapter IV and the Empire's growth after the year 1600 has been

described in four separate chapters, dealing respectively with North America, Australia, India, and South Africa. To supply some general knowledge of England's internal history during the last three centuries, and to connect the stories of colonization in different continents, a condensed chronological narrative is given in Chapters III and IV. These two chapters, the framework of the fuller structure of Chapters V, VI, VII, and VIII, are specially meant for students who have never studied, or who have forgotten, their English History, and they might well be omitted in English schools. On the other hand, any one or more of Chapters V, VI, VII, and VIII could be omitted, without interfering with the general scheme of exposition, to shorten an Indian High School course, and the chapter on India (Chapter VII) could be omitted to shorten a course for schools in the Dominions. The possibility of such omissions being made if a brief school course is required has enabled the author to give a fuller account of North America, India, South Africa, and Australia.

The first requisites of an introductory history are to be clear and interesting. Desire for clarity must be my excuse for a certain amount of intentional repetition and overstatement, explained also by the fact that several chapters were originally first used as lectures. To arouse interest I have included more details than are usually found in school textbooks, and their inclusion must be my justification for many omissions (e.g. New Zealand, the West Indies, Ceylon, and British Guiana are hardly mentioned). The book does not aim at providing a 'manual' or exhaustive digest of its subject (there are plenty of these on the market already), but an interesting introduction to it. Interest has also been sought, at the expense of brevity, in occasional com-

parisons between past and present, and in indications of the connexion between the events narrated and modern problems. I have ventured on a number of historical generalizations, though I know that they must be always more or less erroneous, because, in my experience, nothing is more stimulating and useful even to young students of history.

Subjects of modern political controversy have been avoided as far as possible, but not quite so rigorously excluded as from most school textbooks. Where such subjects had to be treated I hope that I have never passed or prompted judgement, but impartially indicated how they arose and occasionally sketched the arguments from both sides on which fair judgement should be based. I may have failed in this difficult task and certainly cannot hope for the unqualified approval of all shades of opinion. But the risk of failure seemed worth taking, for the avoidance of all controversial questions would, in my opinion, leave the book unprofitable and uninteresting.

I cannot claim that much original research, beyond my personal observations of many parts of the Empire and of some French and Portuguese colonies, has gone to the making of this book, but my debt to many standard works is so heavy that it would take too long to mention them here. Many are recommended to students in the lists of books to be found at the close of each chapter. They contain, for the most part, short and popular books, obtainable at a small cost, and many important authorities have therefore been omitted. Reference to special passages has been given in the few cases where long or difficult books are recommended.

Three books, short and popular in the best sense of the word, which were published during the Great War, specially

helped me to a clearer view of the Empire's achievements and destiny : Professor Ramsay Muir's *Expansion of Europe*, Mr. Lionel Curtis's *Problem of the Commonwealth*, and Sir Charles Lucas's *British Empire*. I have acknowledged by footnotes four short quotations from them in Chapter IX, but I wish here gratefully to express a much wider debt to their authors.

I have to thank my wife, Mr. G. E. Harvey of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Mark Hunter of the Indian Educational Service, and Mr. S. L. Briggs of the American Consular Service for valuable corrections and suggestions while the book was in manuscript. I also specially thank Sir Charles Lucas, and Professor Grant, of the Upper Canada College, Toronto, who read proofs of the book and, in spite of their disapproval of some of its contents, generously offered many valuable corrections and suggestions for its improvement.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
INTRODUCTION. BY SIR C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.	v
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.	vii
I. THE WORLD BEFORE THE AGE OF DISCOVERY	1
II. THE AGE OF DISCOVERY AND IBERIAN MONO- POLY	11
III. SUMMARY OF (a) ENGLISH COLONIAL SETTLE- MENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY; (b) ENGLAND'S INTERNAL HISTORY UNDER HER TUDOR AND STUART KINGS	26
IV. ENGLISH HISTORY AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688	38
V. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA	52
Part I. Up to the end of the Seven Years' War	52
Part II. After the Seven Years' War	62
VI. AUSTRALIA	80
VII. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.	110
Part I. Geographical Sketch	110
Part II. The Seventeenth Century	114
Part III. Our Struggle with the French, 1740 to 1763	127
Part IV. India under Governors - General and Viceroys	134
VIII. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA.	154
IX. MODERN IMPERIALISM.	188
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.	213
INDEX	217

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
Extent of Roman Empire, and places mentioned in Chapter I	2
North American Colonies and places mentioned in Chapter V	54
Australia	82
India and Indo-China, to illustrate Chapter VII, Parts I and II	112
The Dutch East Indies	115
India, to illustrate Chapter VII, Parts III and IV . .	128
Physical and General Map of South Africa	155
Transvaal, Free State, and Natal	165

CHAPTER I

THE WORLD BEFORE THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

Early Empires. Only a very brief account of the world's history in early times is here possible, but the following sketch will at any rate show that the conditions favourable to trade expansion and empire have varied little since men first learnt the art of navigation.

Before its discovery the great world centres of civilization were self-contained kingdoms, each surrounded by deserts, and situated respectively along the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indus.¹ These river centres had no sea-going ships, but traded with each other over the wide seas of sandy desert and the mountains which separated them, by caravan routes which are still marked by the remains of many once important towns long since forgotten.

The Mesopotamian region was for long the centre of the civilized world, and supported in turn three great land empires, the Babylonian, the Assyrian, and Persian. The Persian was the last and greatest of the early land empires, and succumbed, after two centuries of predominance, to the power of Greece, which had been a trading and colonizing naval confederacy, but became a great military empire under Alexander the Great.

The fall of Persia to Greece was directly due to the introduction of navigation from the Indian Ocean into the Mediterranean Sea, for Persia's fate was sealed by the sea-fight of Salamis. Henceforth, until the discovery of sea roads to India and the Americas, nearly two thousand years

¹ There were river centres also in distant China. The Chinese first discovered the art of navigation, and introduced it to the Arabs and Gujarat Indians. Hence the early sea-trade in the Indian Ocean, which flourished long before the Phoenicians sailed on the Mediterranean.

later, no non-Mediterranean state could long retain commercial or imperial pre-eminence. Alexander's empire, it is true, stretched from its Greek and Egyptian Mediterranean bases as far as India, but it fell to pieces at his death, when a more stable Mediterranean empire, with its centre at Alexandria, was founded in Egypt by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals. It lasted nearly a century, and for



EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

a much longer period Alexandria retained its fame as a seat of learning, and as the great market through which the silks and spices of the East passed into Europe. But the centre of Mediterranean power and trade was shifting westward. The Greek states had established colonies in Sicily, Italy, and round the mouth of the Rhine. The Phoenicians had colonized Malta, Cadiz, and much of the south coast of Spain, also the coast of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to Tunis. The Phoenician parent state of Tyre on the coast of Palestine had produced the first Mediterranean sailors.

By fishing expeditions along the coast, by colonizing voyages to neighbouring Cyprus and farther and farther afield, the Phoenicians gradually improved their skill in navigation, acquired first from the Arabs, who had learnt the art from the Chinese, the earliest known naval power. The Phoenicians became famous first as pirates, then as traders. Penetrating beyond the Straits of Gibraltar far down the West African coast, and northwards even to distant Cornwall, they became a great civilizing influence in the ancient world. Because they cared for little but trade, they fell into subjection first under the Persians, then under the Ptolemies. The only remaining traces of them are now found in a dialect spoken by the Maltese, and in the ruins of certain temples in Malta and Cyprus. But their colony of Carthage, near modern Tunis, surpassed the fame of her parent state, became a great trading and colonizing centre, and bid strongly for the foremost place in the Mediterranean.

Rome. Her rival and enemy was Rome, at first a purely land power sprung from a small Italian tribe, which had succeeded in subjugating Italy, and, like Carthage, coveted Sicily. As Germany undertook the task of converting herself into a sea-power in order to crush our British Empire, so Rome acquired ships and naval skill to crush Carthage. Unlike Germany, Rome succeeded after a twenty years' struggle. Her first Punic, or Carthaginian, war gave Rome Sicily, her second Spain, her third Africa. She ruled most of the civilized world for the next five hundred years. Her empire eventually included Britain, France, most of Germany, the present Turkish Empire as far as Bagdad, and all the North African coast. Rome was at first a republic, but as more and more provinces were acquired, this form of government broke down, and she became a military despotism. Her emperors, by means of trained civil servants, rigidly controlled all the provinces from Rome, the centre of the empire. It lasted longer than any other world empire because of its remarkable tolerance of local customs and

religions, and because of its practical usefulness in keeping order and building roads, bridges, and waterworks.

The imperial city of Rome had to be fed from overseas like modern London, so that her life depended on sea-power through the centuries of her dominion. The power of Rome swept the seas of pirates, and kept peace throughout her vast empire, so that all her subjects could trade and progress towards civilization. Her vast wealth was fatal to Rome; she fell at last through the growth of luxury and consequent deterioration of the ruling race, who no longer worked for their own support or fought for their own defence.

It is often contended that all great empires are fore-doomed to fall like Rome, and for the same reasons. German writers have vainly predicted this fate for the British Empire, because, possibly owing to a debased and ignoble estimate of human nature and human motives, they have failed to appreciate its true character. There are two such essential differences between the Roman Empire and our own, that no one who has closely studied the latter expects it to fall like Rome. The population of Rome expected to live in idleness on the wealth of the Empire, giving no labour in exchange. The people of England as a whole have worked laboriously at manufacturing, mining, and other industries to pay for their imported food. Again, the Roman Empire, though it tolerated local customs and religions, imposed its own laws on all its subjects, and allowed them few facilities for national development. The British Empire allows freedom for national development to all its members, and aims, in every part of its dominions, at the highest measure of self-government consistent with maintaining peace and security.

The Middle Ages. During the period generally known as the Middle Ages, from the fall of Rome till the dawn of the age of discovery at the close of the fifteenth century, the modern states of England, France, Spain and Portugal, and Austria were taking form. They all owed their first steps

towards civilization to the long Roman peace. Britain suffered first and most severely when it ended. Rome had not encouraged British national development, and left the island helpless and unprotected, an easy prey to pirates. Though Rome had stamped out piracy in the Mediterranean she had failed to check its growth in the distant seas of Northern Europe. The pirates of Northern Europe were the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, tall, fair-haired, warlike people, who, though outside the Roman Empire, had developed settled agricultural communities for themselves in North Denmark, between the mouths of the Oder and Rhine, before they took to piracy for the sake of adventure, plunder, and new homes. They honoured their women, and governed themselves by means of assemblies in which all free men had a vote.

The Anglo-Saxons introduce their System of Self-government into Britain. Pushing the Britons westward to the mountains, they conquered with ease the eastern lowlands of Britain, settled there and introduced their system of local self-government, by which laws for each tribe were made, after discussion, by the votes of all its freemen. This system spread from the tribe to larger areas, and finally, when real national life began under strong kings, it was developed into the Saxon Witenagemot, or National Council, attended at first only by those whom the king chose to summon. Though the useful device of electing representatives for wide areas was not invented till the thirteenth century, the Saxon National Council was the beginning of the English Parliament. From the system of local self-government possessed by the Angles and Saxons in the fifth century we can clearly trace the development of the 'Mother of Parliaments' which now sits in London at Westminster. We shall not have space in this book to trace through twenty centuries the gradual and slow development of the English parliamentary system, but every student of the British Empire should know something about

its origin and growth, for it has served as a model to all the legislative assemblies of the British Empire, and to many outside it. Englishmen have a right to be proud of the ancient origin, the gradual growth, and the world-wide influence of their political system.

The Anglo-Saxon colonists never developed centralized kingdoms strong enough for secure national defence, and they were constantly invaded and harassed in their turn by pirates from the north, especially the Danes, of much the same blood and speech as their own, who settled from time to time in England. Pirates from Scandinavia also formed a strong colony in Normandy on the north coast of France. William the Conqueror, a Norman duke, successfully invaded England in 1066 and destroyed the last Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Since his time England has never been invaded by a foreign power.

The period of about four hundred years, 1066 to 1480, between the Norman conquest of England and the age of geographical discovery, is to many students the dullest period in European history. It was a period of much oppression of the poor by great nobles, who were often stronger than their kings; the power of these nobles arose out of the feudal system of land tenure, by which they held lands from the King in return for keeping up military establishments, nominally for the King's use, but too often for their own personal quarrels. This system encouraged a modified form of slavery, and for centuries after Rome's fall it spread its cruel tentacles over Europe. It was strongest in central and continental Europe, but comparatively weak near the shores of the Baltic and Mediterranean, where many great commercial cities, such as Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa, Hamburg, Danzig, and Bruges, attained in varying degrees the privileged position of independent communities.

In England too, in spite of civil wars, baronial oppression, and many useless wars in France, these 'dark ages' were, on the whole, less dark than elsewhere. Our first Norman

kings ruled over a number of different races speaking different languages, but during the Middle Ages all these races and tongues were happily blended into the English nation and the English language. Poor men held a better position in England than on the Continent, thanks to the English system of local self-government, and to the growth of the national Parliament, which developed into a powerful elected and representative assembly, claiming the right to be consulted by the King on all important matters, especially the raising and spending of taxes.

England shared in the commercial development of Northern Europe, and acquired a considerable export trade in wool. She supplied raw material for the weaving looms of Flanders, as Australia now supplies Yorkshire. Shipbuilding became an important industry, and Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, and Plymouth became famous ports. They supplied the King with ships when he needed them for his military expeditions, for he had no permanent fleet.

Great merchant companies were formed in England to trade in wool and cloth. Merchant adventurers were even given royal permission, or charters, to trade on the Continent, where their agents founded small English communities. So began the typically English method of expansion by trading companies, approved but not officially supported by Government. These early companies of merchant adventurers were forerunners of the famous companies which received charters later from English kings to trade in West Africa (1553), in the Levant (1581), in the East Indies (1600), near Hudson's Bay (1670), in Borneo (1881), on the Niger (1886), in East Africa (1888), and in British South Africa (1889).

Owing to their Norman origin and successful wars, our English kings possessed for over three hundred years wide dominions in France, a continental empire. They claimed, in consequence, control of the narrow English Channel, and succeeded in retaining it throughout this period.

The Glory of Venice in the Middle Ages. Yet England, in spite of the growth of North Sea and Baltic trade, remained as yet on the outskirts of the civilized world, whose centre was still the Mediterranean. Venice, Florence, and Genoa, fortunate in their central position, became great republics, in wealth and power far exceeding the trading cities of the north. They kept down piracy and traded with Syria, Barbary, Spain, Egypt, and the distant East. The Venetians developed important manufactures of glass, cloth, furniture, and armour to exchange for the nutmegs and peppers of the East ; ‘ not a single dish could be seasoned, not a tankard of ale could be spiced, without adding to their gains ’.

The rising power of Turkey, which at last conquered Constantinople from the Greeks (in 1453), became gradually a great barrier of military barbarism between the civilized trading communities of Europe and Asia, and has so remained till the present day. The Black Sea route to the East became less and less important. Egypt, however, could still communicate with India by sea, and Venice succeeded in keeping a practical monopoly of the trade with Alexandria. Even the Crusades (a series of military expeditions organized by the Christian communities of Europe against the Turks and Saracens in Asia Minor and Syria ; their motive was partly religion, partly love of adventure, and they lasted from 1096 to 1270) brought vast wealth for one hundred and fifty years to the Venetians, who supplied most of the shipping required for the transport and provisions of crusading troops.

The Dawn of the Age of Discovery. But the darkness of the Middle Ages was soon to be dispersed by the light of geographical discovery, which was destined to ruin Venice. As early as 1272 a Venetian, Marco Polo, had travelled by land to Central Asia, and returned full of riches and honour. His book of travels stimulated generations of Venetians towards geographical studies. As became great merchant princes, they eagerly encouraged voyages of

discovery and improved methods of navigation. They corresponded with scholars of congenial tastes all over Europe, and urged princes who possessed ships to equip expeditions of discovery. Thus Venice, by the irony of fate, hastened her own downfall. One of her correspondents was Prince Henry of Portugal, the navigator. His father was King of Portugal, his mother an Englishwoman, the sister of an English king. He spent most of his life in a castle by the sea near Cape St. Vincent, working at the science of navigation in consultation with other learned men. The compass had been invented by the Chinese, and known in Europe for at least two hundred years, but mariners long feared to use the magic needle lest they should be accused of practising wizardry. The Egyptians had invented the astrolabe, an instrument which measured the height of the stars, the Greeks and Arabs improved it, Prince Henry adapted it to the science of navigation, and it was eventually developed into the sextant, by which every ship's captain now finds his latitude. Prince Henry founded a naval school, library, and observatory, made maps, and sent ship after ship in search of knowledge down the neighbouring north-west African coast, for he had heard from Moorish captives of a rich negro land watered by great rivers beyond the Atlas Mountains and Sahara. For many years little was accomplished beyond the capture of slaves in Senegal and the discovery of Madeira ; many Portuguese lives were lost in Prince Henry's expeditions, and he became exceedingly unpopular. Modern geography is still regarded as irreligious by many pious Buddhist monks in Burma, who cherish their own map of a flat world with the sacred mountain of Meru as its dominating feature. The Portuguese priests of Prince Henry's time objected to his new maps for similar reasons. Their own maps showed Jerusalem as the centre of the universe, with a terrestrial paradise in Eastern India, the fabled land of gold and spices ; they also marked on both sides of the equator an impassable belt of heat, intended

10 World before the Age of Discovery

only for the lower animals. Unfortunate Portuguese sailors were being sent to their doom in this burning belt, by the caprice of a lonely madman suspected of black magic and infidelity. Towards the close of his life, however, Prince Henry became rather more popular, because his ships got as far as the Guinea coast and brought back gold received as ransom for captives, or in payment for slaves. The arrival of gold caused great excitement in Lisbon, even the priests admitted that it must have been intended for the use of Christians, and began to approve of African exploration and trade.

The discovery of the Guinea coast was the limit of Prince Henry's achievement, but he often dreamed of an African route to India, of which he had heard so much from his Venetian correspondents. His dreams were not fulfilled till thirty-seven years after his death in 1460.

The manner and results of their fulfilment will be the subject of the next chapter.

Books recommended for further study.

The Association of History and Geography. A. J. Berry. Blackie & Son.

A History of British India. Sir W. W. Hunter. Longman. Vol. I, Chapters I and II.

Elements of English Constitutional History. Montague. Murray.

Sea Power. Household. Macmillan.

History's Background. Book I. Townsend and Franklin. Macmillan.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. Compare the Roman and British Empires from as many points of view as occur to you.
2. Discuss the origin, growth, and influence of Anglo-Saxon self-government.
3. Give reasons for the ancient glory of Venice. For what was she famous besides trade? Was her fall gradual or sudden? On what does her prosperity depend to-day?
4. Discuss the life-work of Prince Henry the Navigator.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY AND IBERIAN MONOPOLY.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. 1486-1588

The Motives for Sixteenth-century Discoveries. A fine passion for knowledge and a desire to convert the heathen were Prince Henry the Navigator's chief motives for discovery. Love of gain was with most men of his age a still stronger motive. It is not too much to say that Europe's need for the spices of the East, pepper, nutmeg and cinnamon, sent Columbus to America, and Vasco da Gama round the Cape to India. The vast importance of the spice trade has often puzzled students of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, because it is difficult to realize now how dependent housekeepers then were on these luxuries. Europe has little winter grass for sheep and cattle, but we can now feed and fatten them on turnips and other roots, also on oil-cake, the waste product remaining after oil has been extracted from ground-nuts or linseed. Such foods were not thought of till the eighteenth century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries large numbers of cattle were killed every autumn and salted down to last the winter, when hardly any other meat was procurable. Potatoes were unknown to Europe till Spain introduced them from Peru in the fifteenth century ; without them the salt meat must have made a monotonous diet, and people would pay high prices for pepper and spices to make it more palatable. After the rise of the Ottoman Empire had blocked the more northerly land routes, the spices and other produce from India and the East Indian islands mostly came across the Indian Ocean in Arab dhows to the Red Sea ports when the monsoon was favourable ; thence they were taken by caravan to Alexandria, thence to Venice, thence over the Alps by pack-mules, and so by

river and road to Northern Europe. All this handling, loading and unloading meant middlemen's profits and a high price to be paid by the consumer. Any one who could find a direct sea-route to the sources of the Venetian trade would raise himself and his country to wealth and honour, and confer great benefit on Northern Europe. This honour was to be Portugal's, but for many years after Prince Henry's death she relaxed her efforts at exploration, being pretty well satisfied with her new Guinea trade in slaves and gold.

The real age of discovery did not begin till 1486, when, twenty-six years after Prince Henry's death, Bartholomew Dias rounded the southern point of Africa which he named the Cape of Storms, and then returned because his sailors would venture no farther. His king renamed it the Cape of Good Hope, but for the next ten years Portugal made no further effort.

Spain and Portugal's Successes in Geographical Discovery. After rounding Cape Verde and finding the coast lead them eastward into the Gulf of Guinea, her explorers had formed at first high hopes of reaching the Indies. But when the Lower Guinea coast led them farther and farther south, and they realized how long and difficult a road lay before them, Portugal's interest in the Indies waned for a time, and even Dias' exploit did little to revive it. Spanish rivalry soon supplied the necessary stimulus. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, had, with many other skilful mariners and pilots, visited Lisbon and there became naturalized. He married a Portuguese lady, and made voyages to the Guinea coast. The general disappointment at the difficulties of the African route suggested to him an attempt to reach the Indies by sailing due west till the coast of China was sighted. He did not wish to discover new territory, but to reach by sea the country which Marco Polo had discovered by land. The Portuguese Government refused him help because naval expeditions of any kind were then unpopular,

and they did not want any western passage to be discovered. Spain after some delay supplied what he needed, and he sailed from a Spanish port in 1492 with letters from the King of Spain to the Emperor of China, reached the West Indies, and came back announcing that he had been to Japan. He did not discover the South American coast till some years later. In 1493 Spain was generally believed to have won the east coast of Asia, and great was the consternation in Portugal.

The King of Portugal promptly claimed the new land under an ancient bull, or decree, by which the Pope had in Prince Henry's time assigned to Portugal all new discoveries. Spain and Portugal both brought pressure to bear on the Pope, who wisely compromised. To prevent further strife between these two Catholic sovereigns he once for all divided the globe between them by a meridian, at first supposed to pass through mid-Atlantic, but found later to cut off a small slice of South American mainland. After a year the boundary was moved westward in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas so as to pass due south of the mouth of the Amazon. All land discovered east of the Pope's line was to be Portugal's and all west of it Spain's. This judgement probably prevented war, for it was accepted by all Europe for two generations. All the oceans of the world except the North Atlantic were thus closed to other nations.

When the South American coast was traced later, Portugal found that nearly a third of South America lay on her side of the Pope's line, and so she was able to found her great Brazilian Empire. But in 1493 she naturally left western discovery to Spain, and pushed on Prince Henry's African scheme with desperate vigour lest Spain should absorb the whole of the Indies before she even got there. The King of Portugal had instructed a gentleman named Covillam to visit the countries of the East by land and not to return till he had traced the Venetian trade in drugs and spices to its source. To escape the jealous vigilance of the Venetian

agents he travelled to Alexandria disguised as a pilgrim. He found his way to Aden, thence he sailed down to Madagascar, where he got news of the Cape of Good Hope from Arab merchants, thence across to India, along the Malabar coast, and so back to Cairo, where he dispatched letters by two Jews to his master. He himself never returned to Portugal, for he next visited Abyssinia, where the Emperor, who wanted a tame white man at his court, kept him, half guest half prisoner, till he died. His letters, however, told of the commercial importance of the Malabar coast and how easily it could be reached from the Cape; they described bejewelled Hindu kings, gorgeous temples, elephants with towers on their backs, and above all an infinite and ridiculously cheap supply of spices and drugs. Portugal determined on a final expedition, which was dispatched in 1496 under Vasco da Gama. Lisbon held high holiday that day, flags flew, guns boomed, and a thousand priests conducted the intrepid band of one hundred and forty-eight sailors to the harbour, where the Pope's blessing and absolution was read over them as over dying men. Two years and eight months later the expedition returned, and once more walked through decorated streets to the sound of church bells and cannon. Vasco da Gama paced slowly at the head of fifty-five feeble triumphant white men and a few outlandish figures with white turbans and brown faces. Two-thirds of his company had died of scurvy, but he brought back the following message from the Zamarin of Calicut to the King of Portugal and Guinea: 'Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of thy house, came to my country, of whose coming I was glad. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. The things which I am desirous to have out of thy country are silver, gold, coral, and scarlet.'

That night there was joy in Lisbon, but the Venetian ambassador sat down sadly to write to his masters, and Venice soon had news of her ruin. She vainly tried to intimidate the Malabar princes through her friend the Sultan of Egypt, and

offered to provide them with guns to use against Portugal, but Portugal soon defeated this manœuvre by dispatching formidable military expeditions under Vasco da Gama and the terrible Albuquerque. Venice next stirred up to attack the common enemy a hornets' nest of Arab dhows, whose monopoly was disappearing like her own; but their weapons were antiquated, and the Portuguese ruthlessly swept them from the Indian seas. The connexion between naval supremacy and trade in the Indian Ocean was thus early demonstrated. Venice even tried in the end to buy the Indian produce from Portugal, but Portugal preferred to sell it to better customers. The excitement caused by da Gama's return was widespread in Europe, but few men living then can have foreseen half of its ultimate consequences. The age-long barrier between East and West was down, the caravan trade of Western Asia was to decline, great cities on the Tigris and Euphrates were to fall into decay, Lisbon to replace Venice and Genoa as the market for Indian goods, and the Atlantic to replace the Mediterranean as the world's chief highway.

If Lisbon had not taken Venice's place, some other Atlantic centre was bound to have done so. We saw in the last chapter how, as trade spread westward, commercial predominance also passed steadily westward to the fortunate city with the most central position; from Babylon to Egypt and Tyre, thence to Greece, Carthage, Rome, and finally Venice. Portugal and Spain were singularly fortunate in their position at the very centre of the future trading activities of the world; they were equally fortunate in the Pope's award. Like the British later, they became imperial races as much by force of circumstance as by design. Let us consider briefly how they used their wonderful opportunities.

How Portugal used her Discoveries. The establishment of a Portuguese empire after 1498 was marvellously rapid, thorough, and successful. During nearly the whole of the

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY
sixteenth century the Portuguese were masters of the Indian Ocean. They established a long chain of forts on the West and East African coasts, round the Persian Gulf, along the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, in Arakan, at the Irrawaddy's mouths, in the coveted Spice Archipelago, and even in Canton and Shanghai. These forts were little more than trading centres; their only real colony in the East was established by Albuquerque in 1510 at Goa, a noble city now in ruins but still under the Portuguese flag. Their maritime enterprise had been influenced from the first by the crusading spirit, a spirit essentially intolerant and anti-Mohammedan, and its first achievement had been the cruel African slave-trade. Their methods in the East continued to be harsh and cruel, they introduced European commerce and Christianity by means of robbery and murder. Moreover, as was to be expected in a gigantic enterprise undertaken by so small a nation, their agents steadily deteriorated in ability, energy, and foresight. Albuquerque had fought in his youth against the Moors, and, like all his countrymen, hated the Mohammedans who had long oppressed them. He disgraced his victory at Goa by wholesale Mohammedan massacres; yet he was a first-rate soldier, a statesmanlike administrator, and very tolerant to the Hindus, whom he trained as clerks, officials, and soldiers. Few of his successors tolerated any religion but Christianity, or studied native laws and customs, except for purposes of commerce and intrigue.

Coming as they did from a sub-tropical country, the Portuguese, in spite of their arrogance and religious intolerance, soon took to native habits of life; by intermarriage with Indian races they lost their prestige and best national characteristics, and became slothful and unenterprising. The first Portuguese in India were regarded as supermen and heroes, their successors were too often cowardly or incapable intriguers.

It is surprising that their East Indian Empire lasted as

long as it did. During most of the sixteenth century it owed its continuance to absence of European competition, and, once such competition came, it was doomed. The Papal Bull of 1493 was respectfully obeyed by all European nations for nearly two generations, but during the sixteenth century the Reformation weakened the Pope's temporal power, Holland and England became Protestant nations, and disregarded as far as they dared the Pope's prohibition. In 1580 Philip of Spain decided the disputed succession to the Portuguese throne by seizing it for himself, thus uniting the Spanish and Portuguese Empires. This union, which lasted for sixty years, threatened to establish a world dominion, which France, England, and Holland successfully resisted. Consequently during most of the seventeenth century naval and commercial predominance in the East fell to the Dutch, while English and French enterprise were concentrated on the Americas.

In Brazil Portugal was more successful. Here there were no ancient native civilizations to clash with the crusading spirit, and a genuine Portuguese agricultural colony resulted, which might have developed itself happily but for over-rigid control by the home government, which consistently discouraged colonial enterprise and self-development.

Though from the middle of the seventeenth century there were continual movements in Brazil for independence, Portugal retained control till 1822; in 1889 the present Republic was proclaimed on the exact model of the United States of America.

How Spain used her Discoveries. Columbus and the Papal Bull of 1493 had given Spain as fair an opportunity as Portugal, and Spain was a greater nation with more resources for using her good fortune. But the long story of her empire is even sadder and more disastrous. Its interest and importance to the student lie chiefly in her mistakes, which have afforded invaluable lessons to her successors in imperial enterprise.

Spain rapidly subdued Cuba and Hispaniola (known later as San Domingo and Haiti). In Mexico and Peru, in spite of formidable resistance from two highly developed native empires, she carved out a vast military empire in less than a generation. The daring exploits of Cortez, Pizarro, and other Spanish captains furnish some of the world's most heroic stories, and the chief glory of their descendants. But the empire they won for Spain was from the first sadly mismanaged. We have seen how cruelty resulting from religious intolerance, over-rigid central control, and native marriages proved the undoing of Imperial Portugal. The Spanish Empire was soon weakened by the same three mistakes, and in addition she fell into three others which had even more serious consequences: she concentrated all her attention on the precious metals, she introduced African slaves, and she neglected her navy.

Gold and silver were found in considerable quantities in Hispaniola, where the wretched natives were forced so ruthlessly to work in the mines that they died off in hundreds and were replaced by slaves from the Guinea coast of Africa. In Mexico and Peru immensely rich gold and silver mines were found and, in their haste to exploit them, the Spaniards introduced slave labour there also. Once she realized that Columbus had discovered a new gold-producing continent, instead of a new route to the Spice Islands, Spain abandoned all thought of ordinary trading. Through all her three hundred years of dominion in South America she concentrated her attention on mining, and consistently neglected all other industries, especially farming, which has progressed enormously under the independent republics which succeeded her in the nineteenth century. No country, however rich in minerals, can afford to neglect its other resources. It will be seen later how the same mistake was made for a time in South Africa and Australia where, in spite of the example of Spain, gold-mining for some years retarded natural development; the same thing happened in California.

The gold and silver from Peru and Mexico poured for generations across the Atlantic into Spain, which became so rich during the sixteenth century that she swallowed up Portugal in 1580, and threatened, like Germany to-day, to do the same to Europe. As we have noted above her power was only checked by combined Dutch, English, and French resistance.

Spain would have been richer still, and her three enemies weaker and poorer, if she had not neglected her fleet. She never was, and never became a strong maritime nation. She was forced to build ships, not only to transport treasure, but also to supply her colonies with the food which they might well have grown for themselves. But her ships were slow, clumsy, badly armed and badly manned, and their owners preferred the risk of capture to loading their ships with cannon, ammunition, and fighting men. The Spanish government ordered all merchantmen to be fully armed, and paid inspectors to see their orders executed; but bribery has always flourished in Spain, and these inspectors were bribed so successfully that Spanish merchantmen usually sailed under-manned and inadequately armed, an easy prey to pirates. Thanks to Spanish naval inefficiency, French and English privateers throughout the sixteenth century were able to divert to their respective countries a share of the stream of Spanish treasure, and to acquire that naval skill and daring on which the safety of the French and British Empires would later depend.

The introduction of African slaves enabled Spain to develop her mines quickly, and it enabled France, England, and Holland later to produce great supplies of sugar in their South American and West Indian settlements; but from first to last it has been the curse of the central American mainland and the neighbouring West Indian islands. It made the ruling classes slothful and cruel, it increased racial jealousies, it caused endless negro rebellions and bloody reprisals, the great American civil war in 1860, and most of

the violent revolutions for which South America and the West Indies have been notorious ; it is responsible to-day for many of the miseries and difficulties which beset mankind in those regions. For nearly four hundred years European settlement in America and the West Indies was closely connected with African slavery. This connexion began with Spain and ended with Spain. The Spaniards brought the first slaves in 1523 to their mines in Hispaniola and Peru, and slavery was not abolished till 1886 in Cuba, almost the last remnant retained by them of their former Empire, which they lost after the Spanish-American War of 1898.¹

Considering all her mistakes, the historian does not wonder at the weakness of the Spanish Empire but at its strength and duration. For three hundred years she was mistress of the South American continent outside Brazil and parts of the Guianas. During the first half of the nineteenth

¹ In 1713, England secured, by an 'Assiento' treaty with Spain, the lucrative monopoly of carrying slaves to the Spanish colonies. In those days no Europeans saw anything immoral in the traffic, but later opinion changed and England had the honour of taking the lead among the civilized communities of Europe in abolishing slavery. There was constant agitation for Abolition in England at the close of the eighteenth century, but, owing to commercial interests and the interruption of the French revolution and French wars, slavery in England and English ships was not abolished till 1807. In 1833 slavery was abolished in our colonies, the nation paying the huge sum of £20,000,000 to compensate slave-owners. Owing to our reluctance to interfere with native law and custom, slavery was not abolished in India till 1843. France abolished slavery in her colonies in 1848. After 1833 we negotiated with other European Powers, and they in course of time prohibited the slave trade, delegating to the English navy the honourable duty of policing the Guinea coast, and searching suspected vessels ; in 1842 we had fifty-eight ships employed solely in this work, at a cost of £575,000, borne by the English nation. In spite of our efforts, and in spite of a treaty between England and Spain in 1835 which declared the Spanish slave trade closed, slaves continued for many years to be successfully smuggled to Spanish Cuba, and Cadiz was the last centre of the illicit slave trade. In 1845, during the two months preceding one of the negro rebellions in Cuba which were a continual menace to the Spanish planters, three thousand new slaves had been landed and many slaving vessels lay around the island. As stated above the Cuban government did not abolish slavery till 1886.

century she lost her dominions on the mainland, which became, like Brazil, federal republics modelled on the United States. She retained the Philippines as well as Cuba, along with much of her ancient imperial prestige, till her war with America at the very end of the nineteenth century.

For Spain and Portugal the sixteenth century was a period of achievement, for Holland, England, and France it was a period of preparation. Originally part of Spain's vast European possessions, Holland accepted the Reformation, and won her independence from Catholic Spain after long wars. By peacefully carrying Indian produce from Lisbon to the ports of northern Europe, she laid the foundation of her maritime greatness long before England or France. When Spain absorbed Portugal in 1580, Lisbon was closed to rebellious Holland. The Dutch were essentially traders, and never explored for curiosity or love of adventure, but, when it became necessary to explore in the way of business, they could do so as well as others. They therefore decided to go direct to the source of the Indian trade, and founded their East India Company in 1602. During the seventeenth century Holland established herself, at the expense of the Portuguese and English, as the chief trading power in the Indian Ocean.

France and England in the Sixteenth Century. A Period of Preparation for Empire. The foundations of French and English naval power were less honourable. Henry VII of England had, in 1497, followed the fashion of the time by encouraging John Cabot (a Genoese sailor, but a naturalized Englishman) and his sons to explore the coast of North America, but no serious attempts at settlement resulted till the seventeenth century. The French sent Cartier to discover the mouth of the St. Lawrence in 1534, and after sailing some distance up the river in 1535, he founded a settlement which did not long survive; so the French also put off serious colonization till the next century. During the sixteenth century French and English maritime enterprise was parasitic; their shipping increased and their

merchants grew rich by waylaying Spanish treasure ships and by smuggling slaves to the Spanish colonies in spite of the prohibition and remonstrance of the King of Spain, who wished to keep this profitable business in Spanish hands. The unwieldy helplessness of most of his merchantmen invited attack. The French first proved that one handy vessel of theirs was a match for four Spaniards, but the English soon followed and bettered their example. The descendants of the Danes and Norsemen found it natural to fight on the sea for riches and honour. Their mistress, Queen Elizabeth, during most of her reign unofficially encouraged these methods, though she publicly condemned them.

The Work of Elizabethan Sailors. Most of her great sailors were Devon men, many were kinsmen of the first English slave-trader, Sir John Hawkins of Plymouth, who rose to high honour as treasurer of Elizabeth's navy. His cousin, Francis Drake, first sailed with him a-slaving, but Drake's first slaving expedition was his last, and he devoted his life to harassing Spanish shipping and colonies in every part of the world. He became 'the master thief of the unknown world', the scourge of Spain, and the darling of the English nation. We have not space here to describe his adventures, well known to every English schoolboy. Englishmen now feel ashamed of the slaving exploits of the Hawkins family, but their pride in Francis Drake has never faded, his fame has lasted splendid and undimmed through the centuries, a heritage and inspiration to British sailors. When news came of the Jutland Battle in 1916, and of the blocking of Zeebrugge harbour in 1918, few Englishmen failed to think of Drake and Nelson, or to thank God that their spirit and tradition still inspired the Navy. Europe and the Empire owe much to these two sailors, for both saved Europe from a military despotism. The danger from Philip in 1580 was as grave as the danger from France in 1702 and 1815, and from Germany in 1914. Philip was determined to root out Protestantism, make Spain supreme in western Europe,

keep the new world a Spanish preserve, and the Atlantic a Spanish lake. England therefore fought for the Protestant religion and the freedom of the seas. When Philip II complained to Elizabeth of Drake's insolence in daring to sail on the Spanish main, her reply was 'tell your royal master that a title to the Ocean cannot belong to any people or private persons; the use of sea and air is common to all forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof'.

Philip put off his attack on England until he had secured by treaty the neutrality of France, who should have faced the common danger with England and Holland. In 1585 he declared war, but in 1588, to the amazement of Europe, his gigantic Armada of 130 large vessels was destroyed in the English Channel by Elizabeth's regular navy of 34 ships, supported by a large number of merchants ships, mostly tiny craft. The Dutch gave valuable help by blockading the harbours in the Spanish Netherlands, which therefore gave no help to Philip.

The defeat of the Armada was one of the most decisive battles in history. The English navy then saved Europe from Spanish predominance, and secured for the world the freedom of the seas. Spain and Portugal ceased to claim the exclusive use of the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, and since 1588 no power has kept the exclusive use of any open sea. Though the civilized world now condemns slavery and piracy, it honours the memory of Elizabeth's slavers and privateers because it owes the things it values most to their skill and valour.

Summary of Chapter. Here ends this survey of the sixteenth century. We have seen how Venice's greatness depended on her central geographical position, how that advantage lay with Portugal after the Cape route to India was discovered; how Portugal and Spain showed great ability at first in using their good fortune; how both their Empires were weakened from the first by the cruel crusading spirit, inter-

marriage with natives, and over-rigid central control; how Spain made three still more serious mistakes by introducing African slaves, concentrating all her attention on gold and silver, and neglecting sea-power; how Spain, after swallowing up Portugal in 1580, threatened to crush the commercial and maritime hopes of the rest of Europe; how the challenge was taken up by England, Holland, and France, and the Iberian menace ended.

These matters have been treated at some length because to both British and Indian students the breaking down of the barrier between East and West should be a subject of absorbing interest, and because, after studying the history of other European empires, we shall be in a better position to understand the past history and present characteristics of the British Empire to which we belong.

Books recommended for further study.

The Association of History and Geography. Berry. Blackie & Sons.

A History of British India. Sir W. W. Hunter. Vol. I, Chapters III, IV, and V.

Hakluyt's Voyages. Every Man's Library. Dent. Vols. VII and VIII for the voyages of Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh.

Sea Power. Household.

English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century. Froude. Longman.

History's Background. Book II, Part 1. Townsend and Franklin. Macmillan.

Expansion of the British Empire. Chapter II. Woodward. Cambridge University Press.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. Discuss the influence of the Spice Trade on history.
2. Why were Spain and Portugal the first two European nations to establish maritime empires? Explain the distribution of their respective Empires in the sixteenth century.
3. Compare the relative importance of da Gama's and Columbus' discoveries.
4. Trace some consequences of the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580.

5. Compare the colonial methods and achievements of Spain and Portugal. What remains of their Empires to-day, and what marks have their Empires left on the world ?

6. Trace the influence of the slave-trade on the world's history after 1493.

7. How did England, France, and Holland become maritime nations ?

8. Read aloud Mr. John Buchan's 'Song of the Sea Captain' (in *Poems Scots and English*. Jack), and discuss its connexion with the events narrated in this chapter.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY OF (a) ENGLISH COLONIAL SETTLEMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY; (b) ENG- LAND'S INTERNAL HISTORY UNDER HER TUDOR AND STUART KINGS

WITH the seventeenth century England's period of true colonial expansion and settlement began.

During the next three hundred years the British Empire spread to so many corners of the world, and its affairs became so complicated that a detailed chronological account of its development would be confusing. The student will learn more by concentrating his attention on one continent at a time, the method followed in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of this book. Some knowledge of the internal history of England, and of the connexion between events in different parts of the world is, however, essential; the next two chapters, therefore, include, for preliminary reading and later reference, a brief summary of the crowded events which during three centuries influenced the growth of England and her colonies.

For their meaning, causes, and results the student must, for the most part, wait till he reads later chapters. One interesting general truth, at least, will emerge from the following summary, the fact that the Empire grew by a succession of accidents rather than by design. The English never set out, like modern Germany, to build an empire according to a fixed scheme. Their chief colonial settlements in the seventeenth century were made, it will be seen, either with the object of securing trading depots or owing to the desire of oppressed communities to worship God or govern themselves in their own manner. After the seventeenth century all their most important acquisitions,

with the exception of Australia and New Zealand, resulted from wars into which they were forced to defend their national independence or their trade.

Colonial Settlement in the Seventeenth Century. Eastern Expansion. During the seventeenth century we were the humble rivals in the East Indies of the powerful Dutch. The Netherlands East India Company was always stronger than ours, and soon broke the power of Portugal in the East. It is a mistake for middlemen to be too greedy of profits. Our East India Company was formed in 1600 because the Dutch traders raised the price of pepper from three shillings to six shillings and eightpence in the London market. Like the Dutch before us we determined to go direct to where the pepper was produced. We began trading operations in the Spice Archipelago, but the Dutch made things too uncomfortable for us there. We struggled unsuccessfully for many years against Dutch competition. In 1623 they murdered in peace time nine English merchants at Amboyna. These unfortunate men underwent a sort of trial for conspiracy, but the charges against them were utterly false, and they were tortured into giving evidence against one another. This affair caused great indignation in England, and Dutch and English ships fought when they met in the Indian Ocean, even when we were at peace in Europe. Often we were at war, for during the seventeenth century we fought three wars with the Dutch owing to trade rivalry in Europe. 'We are rivals', said an English Member of Parliament, 'for the fairest mistress of the world, trade'. Thirty years after the Amboyna outrage, the Dutch paid heavy compensation to our East India Company and to the heirs of the murdered men, but they had meanwhile successfully driven us out of those regions. We left Ceylon also to them, and, after defeating the decadent Portuguese fleet in 1612 off the Malabar coast, we confined our business to India proper. Our East India Company established small factories or trading depots at

Surat in 1612, and later at Madras, Bombay, and in the Hugli. On the whole it prospered throughout the century, but it never aimed at becoming a strong military power or of undertaking the responsibility of governing any part of India beyond its own factories, until its trade was threatened early in the next century by the anarchy preceding and following the collapse of the Mogul Empire, and by the imperial ambitions of its French rivals.

Western Expansion. The Pope's line of 1494 was not supposed to refer to northern waters, so French, English, and Dutch sailors long hoped to find a short cut to India by sailing north-east and north-west from Northern Europe. A glance at the North Pole and surrounding seas on any school globe will show how easily these hopes might have been realized but for Arctic conditions. The search for a north-east passage only led to the discovery by Chancellor in 1554 of Archangel and a lucrative trade with Russia, to which Shakespeare sometimes alludes in his plays. The search for the north-west passage led to the discovery of Greenland and Labrador by Frobisher in 1577, and to that of the St. Lawrence by the Frenchmen Cartier and Champlain in 1534 and 1608. Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the Dutch East India Company's service, in the years between 1600 and 1610 while on the same quest discovered the site of New York and the river called by his name, and surveyed the coast below it as far as the mouth of the Chesapeake. The hope of a north-west passage was hard to kill; Hudson died for it in 1611, adrift on the frozen waters of his bay, and the Frenchmen who discovered the rapids below Montreal called them Lachine, after the China they were confident of reaching.

When it was at last understood that a new continent was worth more attention than a problematical route to an old one, England, Holland, and France settled down in North America to the work of colonization, at first in friendly rivalry, for there seemed room to spare for all three. The

positions, characteristics, and growth of their colonies will be more fully explained in Chapter V ; at present they may be briefly summarized as follows. The French settlements followed the line of the St. Lawrence which they had discovered, the Dutch that of the Hudson discovered by their agent, and the English gradually occupied the rest of the coast between the Alleghanies and the sea. The English also captured Jamaica from Spain, and founded important sugar plantations there and in a few smaller West Indian islands. The Dutch lost their settlement on the Hudson in the middle of the century during one of their trade wars with England. The Spanish and French American settlements had all been deliberately undertaken by the home governments, and continued to be strictly and despotically controlled by them. The British settlements in America presented a complete and striking contrast. All were, from the beginning, more or less independent self-governing colonies, and most of them were communities which had left England because they were dissatisfied with its state religion or government.

Religious and political dissensions in England supplied the motive and the special character of her North American colonies. This is such an important truth that we must briefly consider the causes of these dissensions, which depend on the internal history of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sketch of England's History under her Tudor and Stuart Kings. We have seen in Chapter I how during the Middle Ages the English Parliament was growing, and Englishmen were on the whole better off than most people on the continent of Europe. But the feudal system, strife between king and barons, and long civil wars between two rival dynasties caused much misery and hampered trade until the Tudor kings, a strong and popular dynasty, succeeded in establishing an efficient central government which continued throughout the sixteenth century. The Tudor period

coincided with the age of discovery, for Henry VII, the first Tudor king, encouraged Sebastian Cabot to discover Newfoundland, while Drake harried Spain and the Armada was scattered under Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors.

The Tudor Period. The Tudor period coincided also with a renaissance or revival of learning, and a religious reformation in England. The four chief characteristics of this period are therefore maritime enterprise, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and a strong monarchy. The Tudors were practically despots; but they were popular despots. The growth of the national Parliament ceased under these sovereigns, because they themselves usually represented the wishes of the people, who cared more for a strong government able to protect their growing trade and civilization than for political liberty. In the sixteenth century England was passing through much the same necessary stage of preparation for self-government as India and Burma are passing through to-day. India owes the same debt of gratitude to the British Raj as England owed to the Tudors. Much can be learnt from this comparison which could be further developed. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been characterized in India by the introduction of a new learning from the West, and by necessary reforms and re-adjustment of ancient religious systems to suit modern civilization; the sixteenth century was characterized in England by the introduction of a new learning from the Continent, and by a necessary reformation of the religious system of the Middle Ages.

The Tudor despotism was popular, we repeat, because it identified itself with the nation's growth. The religious reformation, mainly the work of one strong king, Henry VIII, was on the whole popular, though by no means entirely so. At the end of the Tudor period, however, there were signs of religious and political discontent, which were to cause serious national dissensions and a civil war in the next century. Queen Elizabeth, at the height of her glory, met

with considerable opposition from her parliaments, and many of her subjects disliked the official religion which she represented. Though Akbar, a Moghul emperor and Elizabeth's contemporary (vide Chapter VII, p. 116), was setting the world a noble example of religious toleration in India, the idea was still unknown in Europe; no one there had dreamt of a government which did not impose a state religion on all its subjects. When Henry VIII had shaken off the Pope's control, he declared himself the supreme head of the English Church, and expected all his subjects to belong to it. Religious doctrines, known as articles of religion, and a set form of prayer were printed and prescribed, and all Englishmen were ordered to accept them. In Elizabeth's time this pressed hard on two large classes of Englishmen, both extremists, whose consciences could not accept the doctrines and forms of worship prescribed by the State. The Roman Catholics believed it deadly sin to deny the Pope's authority. Other Englishmen believed the Bible, or Christian sacred books, to be the only supreme authority from which each Christian ought, after careful study and consultation with other godly men, to frame a personal religion which seemed to him true. Such men called themselves Puritans, boasting that their religion was pure or unmixed, because derived only from the original source of Christian doctrine, the Bible. Unfortunately, the Bible can be interpreted in many ways, which accounts for the number of sects and denominations into which the Puritans were soon divided. Both Puritans and Roman Catholics were persecuted by the English Government, and it was natural for both to look for escape to the New World. The English Government during the seventeenth century very sensibly allowed them to go there and form communities in which they could live and worship as they thought right, while still remaining subjects of the English crown. The colonists were, on the whole, fortunate in their exile, for during the first eighty-eight years of the seventeenth

century England was miserably distracted by political and religious strife. After Elizabeth's death a really wise and statesmanlike king might have foreseen that increased national prosperity and education would lead to a desire for new political liberty, which could not safely be opposed. Unfortunately, the Tudor dynasty ended with Elizabeth, and her successors, the Stuarts, were neither wise nor statesmanlike.

The Stuart Period. Four Stuart kings, James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II, ruled England from 1603 to 1688, but, during an eleven years' interval between the first and second Charles, there was no king, and England was ruled first by Parliament, then by Oliver Cromwell, a plain country gentleman, with the title of Protector. James I of England was also James VI of Scotland; his accession brought about a union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, though legislative union, i. e. union of the two parliaments, did not come till 1707. James I had trouble with his parliaments, and was disliked for his foreign policy, for he tried to arrange an alliance with Spain and married his son to a Roman Catholic French princess. Charles I believed that kings ruled by divine right, and claimed a number of 'prerogatives', or royal privileges. His parliaments also claimed rights and privileges, especially the right to vote taxes, and refused to do so without what they called 'redress of grievances'. A royalist poet complained later that

Every penny that the people give
Shall cost a limb of his prerogative

(i. e. the King's). Charles, therefore, ruled for many years without parliaments, but he could only do so by great economy, forced loans, and other forms of taxation which most of his subjects considered illegal. After Charles had unwisely entered the House of Commons to arrest by force five of its members, civil war was inevitable.

The Civil War, 1642-9. After seven years' fighting, the King was defeated and surrendered his person to the Parliament. His enemies now fell to disputes and quarrels among themselves, caused mainly by the Presbyterian¹ Parliament's distrust of the independent Puritan army, now led by Oliver Cromwell, whose ability in training and using soldiers had ensured the King's defeat. The captured monarch hoped to use these dissensions to win back his crown, for nearly all parties agreed at first in wishing the monarchy to continue if its power could be adequately limited and controlled. Charles made promises, which he never meant to keep, first to one party, then to the other, while intriguing at the same time with the Scots for his rescue, and urging his nephew, the King of France, to invade England with a foreign army. The parliamentary party were so jealous of Cromwell and the army that they were ready to reinstate the King on his admission that their resistance to his authority had been justified, and his promise to surrender control of the militia and establish Presbyterianism. Charles's insincerity in these negotiations is proved by the following quotation from a private letter to one of his friends: 'To deal freely with you', wrote he, 'the great concession I made this day was made merely in order to my escape. . . . My only hope is that now they believe I dare deny them nothing and so be less careful of my guards.' The Parliament, however, voted that 'the king's answers were a ground to proceed upon for the settlement of the kingdom'. Historians know now how insecure a ground they would have proved. Cromwell knew it then, and said 'they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security would have been a little bit of paper'. The discovery of Charles's intrigues with the French and Scots cost him his life; the army seized his person, overawed the Parliament by

¹ The Presbyterian religion came from Scotland. The Presbyterian believed in strict church government by elders.

expelling many Presbyterian members, and arranged a court to try the King for 'levying war against the Parliament and Kingdom of England'; Charles declared that 'Princes are not bound to give an account of their actions but to God alone', he wore his hat through the trial, declined to admit the court's jurisdiction, and refused to plead. His conduct was dignified and consistent throughout, and he died on the scaffold, a martyr to his political convictions; but he need never have been martyred if he had not thought it right to defend those convictions by deceiving his enemies and breaking his promises to them.

The Commonwealth, 1649-60. The remains of the House of Commons then declared England a Commonwealth (or republic). During the next five years Cromwell, under their orders, subdued Ireland and Scotland, where an army had been collected and led into England by the future Charles II, who had great difficulty in escaping to France. Meanwhile the Parliament spent much time in useless debates, and neglected the government of the country. It had been in existence for thirteen years, and no longer represented anything or anybody but itself. Its very existence depended on Cromwell and the army, which it mistrusted. Neither Parliament nor army, however, dared risk the election of a new parliament, which would probably have invited Charles II to return. When the Long Parliament was about to pass an Act to perpetuate itself (i. e. that existing members should hold their seats for life, and decide whether newly elected members should be allowed to take their seats), Cromwell turned it out by force, and ruled England for the last years of his life as Protector, a king in all but name.

He did more for English trade and shipping than any king before him. For the sake of England's trade he fought successful wars with the Dutch, and captured Jamaica from Spain. His great admiral, Blake, put down piracy in the Mediterranean, and captured Spanish treasure ships in the

old way. He raised England to the position of a great and powerful continental state. But 'his greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad'. At home he was at best an unpopular policeman, 'a constable keeping the peace of the realm', as he described himself, till England had made up her mind as to what she wanted. England at heart had always regretted the monarchy, and two years after Cromwell's death Charles II returned amidst general rejoicings.

The Restoration, 1660. Charles II ably carried on the Cromwellian tradition as to colonization and trade. He encouraged English shipping by navigation laws, which caused two wars with the Dutch. Four new American colonies and the Hudson Bay Company were founded in his reign. At home he pursued, though cautiously, the old Stuart aims of absolutism, so the old tug-of-war between King and Parliament soon began again. Owing to a general reaction against Puritanism, his parliaments were violently Anglican,¹ and by persecution drove hundreds of Roman Catholics and Dissenters to America. Charles wished for religious toleration, especially for Catholics. Getting no support from his parliaments, he relied for money on doles from Louis XIV of France, whose military aggression was already a menace to Europe. In return for this money he promised in a secret treaty to help Louis in a war against the Dutch, and to declare himself a Roman Catholic as soon as he dared. From the proud and independent position to which Cromwell had raised her, England almost sank to one of dependence on France. 'It is strange', wrote Samuel Pepys in his diary of 1667, 'how everybody do now reflect on Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him.' Charles only kept his position by his great ability, and by concealing to some extent his Roman Catholic sympathies.

¹ The Anglicans were adherents of the reformed church of England, and believed in Church government by bishops.

James II was much less able, and openly professed and encouraged the unpopular religion. He became so generally disliked that, when a number of leading Englishmen invited William, Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, James the Second's daughter, to come over to England and accept the crown, a second revolution was carried through without fighting. James II fled to France, and was declared to have abdicated.

The 1688 revolution ended the long struggle between the King and Parliament. Its chief results were (1) the development of the modern system of parliamentary government, and (2) alliance of England and Holland against France. William of Orange was a Dutchman, and his great grandfather had led Holland to independence in her long struggle with Philip of Spain. France now menaced Holland's independence, so William regarded resistance to the aggression of Louis XIV as his life-work, and he probably only accepted the English crown to further that object. He succeeded in dragging England, at first much against her will, into a long series of French wars, which lasted, with intervals, till 1815, and were the chief cause of England's naval greatness and of her astonishing and unpremeditated imperial expansion during the eighteenth century.

Books for further study.

Sea Power. Household. Macmillan.

History's Background. Book II, Part 2. Townsend and Franklin. Macmillan.

Brief Survey of English History. Townsend Warner. Blackie.

Introductory History of England. Three vols. Fletcher. Murray.

Landmarks in Industrial History. Townsend Warner. Blackie.
Chapter XI.

Elements of English Constitutional History. Montague. Murray.

The Influence of Sea Power on History. Mahan. Sampson Low.
Chapters II to V.

Expansion of the British Empire. Chapter III. Woodward. Cambridge University Press.

Atlases. *Historical and Modern Atlas of the British Empire*. Robertson and Bartholomew. Methuen.

Or *A New School Atlas of Modern History*. Ramsay Muir. Philip.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. Compare the growth and character of our western and eastern Empires in the seventeenth century.

2. Contrast the Tudor despotism with that which the Stuarts attempted to establish.

3. Discuss the four chief characteristics of the Tudor period, and compare the condition of England under the Tudors with that of India in the nineteenth century.

4. Compare Charles I's and Cromwell's foreign policies, and also their relations with their Parliaments.

5. Write an appreciation of Charles II's colonial and foreign policy. Why was one more enlightened than the other ?

6. Discuss some consequences of the revolution of 1688.

7. Read Alfred Noyes's song 'Marchaunt Adventurers' (in *Tales from the Mermaid Tavern*. Blackwood), and discuss it as a reflection of the spirit of England in the early years of the seventeenth century. Read also and discuss Newbolt's two poems 'Drake's Drum' and 'Admirals All' (*Collected Poems*. Nelson).

8. Discuss the various motives which led to the establishment of British colonies in North America.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH HISTORY AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

Establishment of the Hanoverian Dynasty, and Changes in the System of Government. By accepting the British throne William of Orange ended the long struggle between King and Parliament, but involved England, at first much against her inclination, in another long struggle, a war with France which lasted with pauses for one hundred years, and resulted in vast Imperial expansion. Before studying this struggle, we must consider some of the results of his accession on the internal history of the country and on its constitution (i. e. system of government).

A *Bill of Rights*, which he signed in 1689, recapitulated the illegal acts of James II, declared him to have abdicated his throne, and enumerated the 'true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of the realm', which included freedom of parliamentary elections and debates, regular and frequent parliamentary sittings, and the illegality of taxation without parliamentary consent; it also declared that no Papist could succeed to the throne, and settled the succession on William and Mary and their children, and, in default of such children, on the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, also a daughter of James II. Neither Mary nor Anne had children, so an *Act of Succession* in 1701 settled the throne on the descendants of the nearest Protestant heir, the Electress of Hanover (a German principality), who was descended from a daughter of James I. Our first Hanoverian monarch, George I, became king in 1714, and his descendants have occupied the throne of England ever since.

The reigns of William and Mary, and of Anne belong to the eighteenth rather than to the seventeenth century;

they saw the beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France, the Union of England and Scotland, and the beginning of the modern system of Government by a Prime Minister and Cabinet chosen from the political party which holds a parliamentary majority. In Anne's reign members of Parliament began to label themselves Whigs or Tories, names invented in the reign of Charles II, as their modern successors have labelled themselves Liberals or Conservatives. The Whigs wished to curtail the royal power, and to grant toleration to all Protestants; the Tories still half-believed in the Divine Right of Kings, and would, many of them, have been Jacobites,¹ but for their attachment to the National Church. The faithfulness of James II and his family to the Roman Catholic Church was the greatest safeguard of the new dynasty. Anne was the last English Sovereign to preside at meetings of her Cabinet. Because George I never learnt the English language he could not do so, and gradually it became the custom for the King to select from the party in power a Prime Minister to form a Cabinet and to preside at its meetings.

During the reigns of George I and George II, the first two Hanoverian kings, there was a twenty-five years' peace interrupted only by two unsuccessful Jacobite rebellions and an unimportant war with Spain. During the peace the Whigs continued in power, and the position of the Cabinet and its chief minister grew stronger under the able rule of Walpole, a successful and popular peace minister. George III, who reigned for sixty years, made a determined attempt to re-establish the royal power and almost succeeded; by bribing electors and Parliament and by stirring up divisions among the Whigs, he brought back to power the old Tory party who called themselves the 'King's friends'. Though narrow-minded he was popular because he loved England, and, unlike his two predecessors, lived an exemplary private

¹ The Jacobites were supporters of the exiled Stuart dynasty (from *Jacobus*, the Latin for James).

life. He energetically and successfully resisted the growth of Responsible Government,¹ about which the nation as yet cared very little, until a disastrous war with our American colonies brought his policy and the Tory party into disrepute.

Thus we were compensated for the loss of half America by the confirmation of Responsible Government in England. George III's successors have all thoroughly understood the duties of a constitutional monarch and have discharged them with unfailing tact and ability; besides selecting Prime Ministers, representing the nation on public occasions, and discharging numerous minor duties of considerable importance, they have been invaluable as permanent advisers on state affairs to successive Cabinets and Prime Ministers.

The change from representative to responsible government took place during the eighteenth century gradually, without bloodshed, without violent revolution, and without the ordinary man even knowing what was happening. Englishmen are proud of the fact that, with one exception, all their important constitutional changes were peacefully accomplished. They have been singularly fortunate in this matter compared with France, and most other European countries. Such peaceful revolutions were possible in England thanks to the political genius of the nation, that is to say, its capacity for compromise and combination for the common good, acquired by nearly a thousand years of training in local self-government and gradually developing Parliamentary institutions.

¹ All Governments consist of a *Legislature*, which makes laws, and an *Executive*, which carries them out. Under *Representative Government* an elected Parliament makes laws, but they are administered by an Executive appointed by the King (e.g. England and the American colonies in the seventeenth century, modern Germany until 1918, Jamaica and other smaller British colonies to-day). Under *Responsible Government* the Executive consists of ministers chosen from the party with a majority in Parliament, and responsible through it to the nation (e.g. British Isles, Union of South Africa, Australian Commonwealth, Dominion of Canada, and New Zealand). In other words Responsible Government is Legislative Self-Government with control of the Executive.

Another sweeping constitutional change was accomplished after only moderate agitation during the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century the right of voting in parliamentary elections had been confined to the wealthy land-owning classes. Three Reform Acts, of 1832, 1864, and 1884, redistributed parliamentary constituencies, and gave the franchise¹ to most, but not yet all, of the King's subjects in the United Kingdom except criminals, lunatics, paupers, women and children. In nearly all countries which use Parliamentary Government such re-adjustments become necessary from time to time, owing to changes in political ideas, the spread of education, and the shifting of population from one area to another. A similar re-adjustment extending the franchise to women has recently been accomplished in England by an Act of 1918.

The Industrial Revolution and its Results. Two more revolutionary changes passed gradually over eighteenth-century England, an *Agrarian Revolution* and an *Industrial Revolution*.

The former, of minor importance to the subject of this volume, resulted in enclosed fields replacing the open-field system of cultivation, in winter feeding of stock,² in scientific rotation of crops, in a better supply of corn and meat for the growing towns, and in the displacement of the small labouring freeholder by the modern system of large land-owners, tenant farmers, and hired labourers.

The Industrial Revolution had such influence on English foreign trade and the conditions of labour in England that it must be considered in more detail. During the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century England showed an amazed world the manufacturing possibilities of machinery and steam power. She had acquired trade in the past through her natural advantages of a central position and good harbours. She now discovered fresh natural advantages in her conveniently situated coal

¹ The right to vote in Parliamentary elections.

² See Chapter II, page 11.

and iron fields, and in her damp climate so suitable for many manufacturing processes. The first mechanical inventions were naturally connected with weaving, which had been since the Middle Ages the staple national industry. The flying shuttle in 1733, and the spinning jenny in 1764, were the first of a long series of inventions which were applied to cotton, linen, and woollen fabrics. Mechanical inventions preceded by many years the application of steam power, so the new machines were worked first by hand-power or horse-power, then by water, and finally by steam. 'I sell, Sire', said one of the inventors of the first steam-engines to George I, 'what all the world desires, power.' In 1784 it was discovered that iron could be smelted by coal instead of charcoal. Henceforth the coalfields helped to supply the iron of which machinery was made, as well as the power to drive the machinery. Difficulties of transport at first greatly hampered the growth of trade resulting from these improvements; good roads were not made till the early nineteenth century; canals and railways followed later.

The Industrial Revolution made the English, already the greatest colonizing and maritime nation, also the greatest manufacturing nation in the world. The advantage of initiating modern manufacturing methods was so great that England in a few years became the world's factory. British goods could be supplied so much more cheaply than others, that, in spite of protective duties, they found a ready market in all European countries. Our initial advantage was of course only temporary, but our natural geographical advantages still continue. We are no longer the only manufacturing country, but we are still the greatest in Europe. England's manufacturing industries and her Empire have helped one another, for English manufacturers rely largely on the Empire for markets, while trade in British manufactures has expanded the Empire and helps to bind it together.

Such is the bright side of the Industrial Revolution. It

had its dark side too. Such a violent change was bound to hurt somebody. It left many wounds and sores which healed the more slowly because their true causes and remedies were not at first understood. Let us consider some of them.

The iron industry moved from the forests of the south of England to the midland and northern coalfields, the woollen industry disappeared from the eastern counties; yarn could no longer be spun or cloth woven in farm labourers' homes to supplement their small regular wages. Times of change are hard on poor men. Political Economy was much studied in those days, and educated men were dangerously inclined to rely on it as an exact science, which it is not. 'The law of fluidity of labour' was much quoted, and labour was supposed to obey the 'law of supply and demand' by flowing automatically from where it was no longer required to wherever it happened to be wanted. Unfortunately labour is the least fluid of all commercial commodities. India in famine time always proves this in spite of her railways. In the early days of the English industrial revolution there were not even good roads, so labourers often remained to starve when industries moved. In time, of course, labour did adjust itself to the new conditions, which brought about an enormous increase in the town population, but there was much misery before the adjustment was completed. More permanent hardships, caused by the industrial revolution, were low wages, insanitary conditions, and excessive hours of work in factories. A machine never tires, so there is always a danger, when factories are started, of over-long hours of human labour. Though the old Political Economy discouraged government interference with industries or trade, it was at last admitted that the labouring classes needed the state's protection at such times; this has been proved in the cotton mills of Bombay as well as in England.

Remedial Legislation in England. Throughout the nine-

teenth century, but especially towards its close, the English Parliament was much occupied by ' Remedial Legislation ', i. e. laws designed to remedy the hardships caused by the Industrial Revolution, and to better the condition of the working classes. Factory conditions of labour were improved and working hours limited by various nineteenth-century Factory Acts which specially protected women and children. Other remedies were the repeal in 1824 of the Workmen's Combination Act, which had forbidden workmen to combine to secure higher wages ;¹ the repeal of the protective Corn Laws in 1846, which lowered the price of food by allowing cheap American corn to be imported ; a Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, which introduced a wiser system of relieving extreme poverty ; the Parliamentary Reform Acts mentioned above ; various acts for the improvement of elementary education which was made compulsory in 1876, and free in 1891 ; various Employers' Liability Acts and Workmen's Compensation Acts in 1897, 1900, and 1906, by which employers must compensate workmen who suffer serious hurt in their employment ; acts passed in 1868 and 1890 for improving the housing of the working classes ; in 1911 the National Insurance Act, which provides medical attendance for all working people, and the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 providing pensions for those over seventy years of age.

In spite of the relief effected by all this remedial legislation and by emigration, Englishmen to-day are paying for the mistakes of their great-grandfathers who, mainly through stupidity, or blind faith in a misleading system of political economy, allowed the mass of the working classes to live miserable lives, badly housed, overworked from childhood, underfed, under-paid, uneducated, while their labour was establishing England's commercial greatness and enriching their more fortunate fellow-citizens. The effect of the

¹ As a result wages were raised throughout the nineteenth century by combinations of workmen called Trade Unions.

black years of the early nineteenth century is still seen in the suspicion and class jealousy which embitter modern industrial disputes. The Great War helped to reconcile different classes of Englishmen, who have fought together for the common cause of national liberty. Now the war is over, further remedial legislation and memories of the common struggle may, it is hoped, complete the work of national reconciliation.

Imperial Expansion after the 1688 Revolution. From 1699 to 1813, England was nearly always at war with France. The longest interruption to this war happened during the first twenty-seven years of George I and George II's reigns, and other breaks lasted for eight, fifteen, and ten years respectively. Even when there was peace in Europe, the French and English continued to fight one another in India and America. This curious custom arose partly, no doubt, from slow communications and uncertainty whether peace had been signed in Europe or not, but we can see now another reason for it, evident then to few observers. Trade and colonial rivalry were the vital issues in these eighteenth-century wars, more vital to England at any rate, than their immediate causes, the succession to the Spanish and Austrian thrones, the ambitions of the rising Prussian monarchy, and the French Revolution. Such European disputes were never secondary matters to France, as, owing to her insular position, they were to England. This gave England so great an advantage over France in the naval and colonial struggle that every war but one resulted in new British dominions. Our gains were not only at France's expense, Holland and Spain suffered too, when, by French influence or a French alliance, they were dragged into the struggle. Though they brought much new territory, our eighteenth-century wars were essentially trade wars, never deliberately begun for the extension of territory. Most Englishmen attended chiefly to the European aspect of the struggle; those who had longer vision believed, with good reason,

that we had to keep on fighting France in India and America to defend our existing settlements and trade.

Accounts of the American and Indian phases of the second Hundred Years' War are included in Chapters V and VII. Its results on the extension of the British Empire are summarized in the table on p. 47.

To summarize the above table, this Hundred Years' War lost us the United States of America, but gave us Canada, supremacy over the French in India and Ceylon, also, as naval stations on the way to India, Gibraltar, Malta, Ascension, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope.

During this period there were only four accessions to the Empire, Georgia in 1732, Penang 1786, Sierra Leone in 1787, and the first Australian settlements in 1788, which were not direct results of the war. The first Australian settlements were an indirect result of the loss of the American colonies, for when they could no longer be used as convict settlements it was thought necessary to establish a new one in New South Wales. Sierra Leone was a purely philanthropic project for settling freed African slaves in their own continent. Georgia, the last of the thirteen American colonies, was another philanthropic project for giving debtors a fresh start in life on release from prison. Penang was purchased by the East India Company from a native prince.

Imperial Expansion after 1815. Later accessions to the Empire fall readily into six classes.

I. *The Growth of the British Empire in India* is described later in Chapter VII, where it will be seen that our governor-generals and viceroys after Lord Wellesley reluctantly acquired new territory as the only safe way to resist French intrigues and to retain peace and good government in the old. Lord Wellesley (1798-1805), who fought Mysore and the Marathas, the allies of France, and instituted the policy of controlling native chiefs by 'subsidiary alliances', certainly had his heart in the business of Empire-building. His successors, including even Lord Hastings (1813-23), who

War.

War of the Grand Alliance,
1689 to 1697.

War of the Spanish Succession,
1702 to 1713.

War of the Austrian Succession,
1740 to 1748.

Seven Years' War, 1756 to
1763.

Where fought.

Scotland, Ireland,
America, Belgium, and
at sea.

Flanders, Spain, on the
Danube, America, and
at sea.

In Flanders, Scotland,
India, and North
America.

In America, India,
Senegal coast, West
Indies, in Europe,
and at sea.

War against the revolting
American colonies, which
were helped by France,
Spain, and Holland, be-
tween 1778 and 1783.

War against :

(a) French Revolution.

(b) Napoleon.
1793 to 1815.

In France, Holland,
Italy, Denmark, Ire-
land, Spain, Portugal,
Egypt, West Indies,
and at sea.

Treaty ending it.

Treaty of Ryswick.

Treaty of Utrecht.

Treaty of Aix-la-
Chapelle.

Treaty of Paris.

Peace of Versailles.

Treaty of Vienna (and
earlier Treaty of Amiens).

British gains or losses.

Both sides restored conquests made in
America.

Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia,
Hudson Bay, St. Christopher (from
France), Minorca (from Spain).

The French had the best of it in India and
took Madras from us. It was restored
to us at the peace in exchange for Cape
Breton Island.

From Spain, Florida; from France, Canada,
Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton
Island, Senegal, some West Indian
islands. In India we defeated the French
completely and finally, taking Masuli-
patam, Pondicherry, and Chandanagore.
They were restored at the Peace as
trading stations, not as forts.

The American colonies (to U.S.A.),
Minorca and Florida (to Spain), Senegal
(to France). France and England restored
conquests made in West Indies and
India.

From Holland, the Cape, Ceylon and
British Guiana. From France, Mauritius,
Seychelles, some W. Indian islands, and
Malta. From Denmark, Heligoland (given
to Germany, 1890). From Spain, Trinidad.

fought the Nepalese, Pindaris, Marathas, and Burmese, were all unwilling imitators of his policy, which circumstances forced them to follow. The East India Company consistently discouraged aggression, but their agents found it impossible to carry out their instructions. It is to the credit of these agents that they realized and avoided the great dangers of a backward policy, of which the history of British South Africa during the same period offers many sad instances.

II. *The Growth of British South Africa* is described in Chapter VIII. Here our position was rendered exceedingly difficult by the animosity of the Dutch settlers, and by that of powerful Kaffir tribes to one another and also to us. In South Africa we were even more reluctant than in India to assume new responsibilities, our agents were more under the control of political parties at home, and our policy was consequently less consistent. Its frequent changes from firmness to weakness, from progress to retreat, delayed the peaceful settlement of the country, and caused much unrest, recrimination and misery.

III. *Colonial Expansion in Australia* is described in Chapter VI. As convict settlements during the Napoleonic Wars these colonies had no chance to thrive. During the nineteenth century, thanks to the discovery of gold, and to 'free' (i. e. non-convict) immigration, their population increased and spread over great areas of hitherto uninhabited country.

IV. *Naval Stations to protect our Sea-routes.* Such were Aden (1839), Perim (1857), Cyprus (1878), Hong Kong (1841), Singapore (1819), Wei-Hai-Wei (1898). After the opening of the Suez Canal we acquired Aden and Perim as naval stations on the Mediterranean route to India. Singapore and Hong-Kong both became even more important as trading centres than as naval stations, the purpose for which they were originally acquired.

V. *Egypt and the Sudan* occupy a special and peculiar position partly within and partly without the British Empire.

The Suez Canal was opened in 1869. The Egyptian Government being hopelessly inefficient and bankrupt was placed, by an agreement with the Sultan of Turkey, under the 'Dual Control' of France and England, the two countries owning most shares in the Canal. In 1882, when there were serious disturbances in Egypt owing to the revolt of a military adventurer, Arabi Pasha, France declined to intervene and resigned her share of the Dual Control. The British Navy and Army restored order. From 1882 till 1915 a British adviser to the Khedive resided in Egypt, and many British officials have been employed in its administration. Egypt did not become a British Protectorate under a Sultan till the year 1915, when the Khedive went to Turkey and joined our enemies. The occupation and administration of the Sudan in 1896-9 became necessary owing to constant attacks on Egypt and neighbouring countries by fanatical tribes under the Mahdi, a militant Mohammedan prophet. In August 1920 a deputation of Egyptian Nationalists led by Zaghlul Pasha and a mission under Lord Milner (representing the British Government) agreed on the establishment of Egyptian independence, and a treaty of alliance between Egypt and Great Britain and security of British interests there. The final agreement has still (in August 1920) to be negotiated between representatives of the two governments and confirmed by the British Parliament and the Egyptian Legislative Assembly.

VI. *British Protectorates declared in certain uncivilized countries to secure the orderly administration necessary for the establishment of European trade.* One of these Protectorates, that of British North Borneo, is still administered by a chartered trading company combining, like the old East India Company, administrative and commercial functions. Others, like British East Africa (now the Kenya Colony) and the North Nigerian Protectorate, were first administered by chartered companies, then transferred to the control of the Colonial Office. A number of Pacific Islands

were annexed as Protectorates from 1870 onwards and are controlled by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific (Governor of Fiji). Others are administered by the Australian Colonies. Though Fiji itself is a Crown Colony, it was annexed like most Protectorates because of the influx of a large number of European traders, many of them lawless characters.

The following are the other chief Protectorates with the dates of their establishment.

Nyasaland (1891).

Malay States (different dates).

British Somaliland (1884).

Sarawak (1888).

Gambia (1894).

Sierra Leone Hinterland (1896).

Uganda (1894).

Zanzibar (1890).

Various Protectorates in the Western Pacific islands 1878-1900.

Books recommended for further study.

Sea Power. Household. Macmillan.

History's Background. Book II, Parts 2 and 3. Townsend and Franklin. Macmillan.

Brief Survey of English History. Townsend Warner. Blackie.

Introductory History of England. Fletcher. Murray.

Elements of English Constitutional History. Montague. Longman.

Landmarks in English Industrial History. Townsend Warner. Blackie. Chapters XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and XIX.

Influence of Sea Power on History. Mahan. Sampson Low. Chapters VI to XIV.

The Expansion of England. Seely. Macmillan.

Atlases. See under Chapter III.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. What did Englishmen in the eighteenth century mean by the 'Protestant Succession'? How was it secured and how often was it threatened?

2. Define Responsible Government. Why is it a peculiarly English system of government ? Mention some advantages and disadvantages of the system.

3. What do Englishmen mean by 'Constitutional methods', and why are they attached to them ?

4. Discuss some of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

5. Who invented the 'Law of Fluidity of Labour' ? Mention some consequences of trusting to this law.

6. Compare French and English aims in the Second Hundred Years' War.

7. Americans call the war of the Spanish Succession 'Queen Anne's War', the war of the Grand Alliance 'King William's War', and the Seven Years' War the 'Old French and Indian War'. Explain these names. What did these wars mean to them ?

8. Why did the English Governors-General of India often fail to carry out the East India Company's instructions ? What would have happened if they had strictly followed them ?

9. Sketch the growth of French and British influence in Egypt.

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA

PART I. UP TO THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

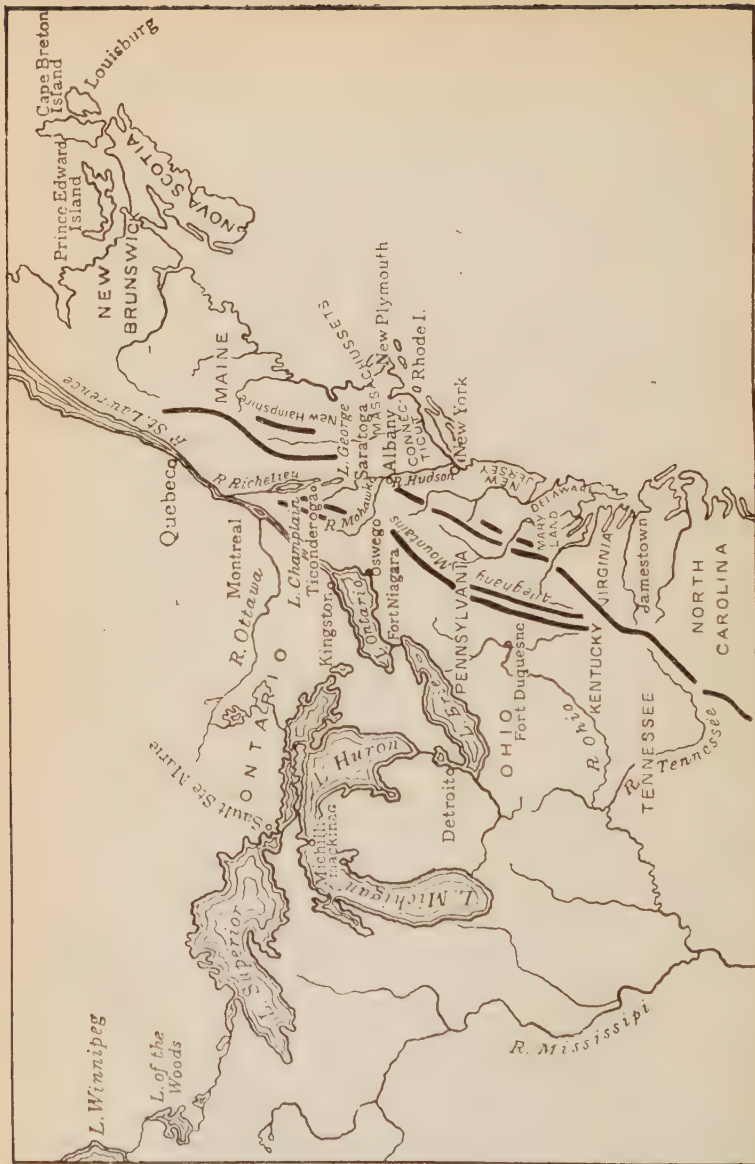
FOR a century and a half, from about 1600 till the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the history of North America was a long struggle between French and English for predominance. Those who favour the geographical aspect of history consider it a struggle for a hinterland,¹ those who favour the political and social aspect regard it as a struggle between two political systems, the French, insisting on uniformity and obedience to a strong central government, and the British, encouraging self-government and variety of types. Readers of this chapter should keep in mind both the geographical and political aspects of the struggle which reached its climax and decision in the Seven Years' War about the middle of the eighteenth century (see Table on p. 47, Chapter IV).

We will now consider the growth of French and British North America up to the beginning of that decisive war. During the sixteenth century both had made small and short-lived settlements in America; as early as 1535 the French under Jacques Cartier visited the site of Montreal and wintered in Quebec; the British had annexed, but not settled in Newfoundland in 1578, and later in Queen Elizabeth's time attempted settlement under Raleigh in Virginia. Both began their serious colonization early in the seventeenth century. The English, as befitted a maritime nation, occupied the sea-coast, the French, with the instincts

¹ A hinterland is the country behind a coast settlement. The modern history of North America, Africa, India, and Australia is mainly about the struggles of European nations against rivals or natural obstacles, to spread their trade and influence from coast settlements to hinterlands.

of a land power, pushed up the St. Lawrence and the great lakes into the interior. The natural configuration of the country encouraged the French to explore, while it discouraged the English from exploration, for we had the Alleghany barrier behind us, while the French had behind them an inviting system of navigable inland waters.

French Canada up to 1756. The early history of British occupation cannot compare with that of the French for romantic incident, devotion, and courageous endurance. At the very beginning of the century of settlement, Champlain explored the Ottawa and Richelieu rivers and the lake which bears his name, and founded Quebec, which was to remain for a hundred and fifty years the central fortress of imperial France. During the next fifty years, a period easy to remember, her fur traders and missionaries settled around Quebec and along the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, but farmed only with reluctance and from necessity. Saving Indian souls on the one hand, and profitable adventure on the other were their real interests, which sent them on dangerous journeys into the interior, and led to friendship and alliances with many warlike Indian tribes. The French have everywhere shown a finer capacity than the less adaptable British for sympathy and friendship with non-European peoples. Their missionaries converted many Indians to Christianity, and their fur-traders learnt Indian methods of hunting and making war in the forests, and often married Indian squaws. It was fortunate for the English that the Iroquois, by far the strongest and bravest Indian tribe, hated from the first the French missionary methods, and so were generally friendly to us. The attitude of these people, known as the Five Nations, was important because they occupied the country between French and British, and for many years controlled the only two land routes by which one could attack the other, which were along the valleys of the Hudson and Richelieu rivers joined by Lake Champlain, and through the gap in the



NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

northern Alleghanies made by the Mohawk, a tributary of the Hudson. These two routes can be easily seen on any good physical map, and should be clearly impressed on the memory. The history of the French and English wars in America, of the War of American Independence, and of the Canadian-American War of 1812-13-14 depend on them. So does the modern United States railway system. The converging of railway routes through the Mohawk gap and Hudson valley accounts for the growth of New York city.

The first period of French occupation, the heroic period of religious enthusiasm and romantic adventure, ended in 1663, when the French Government revoked the charter of the French Canadian Fur-trading Company. Colbert, the greatest of all French colonial ministers, then made Canada a royal province; France sent her strong governors and garrisons, gave her a strong military central government, and for about ten years poured immigrants into the country. Most of them sailed from Dieppe out of Normandy, and were of the peasant or cultivator class. They were settled during the years 1663-73, along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu in 'seigneuries', that is to say the cultivators held their lands according to the seventeenth-century French system, from 'seigneurs' or small feudal overlords. These cultivators called and still call themselves 'habitants'. Because there has been little further French immigration to Canada since 1673, the 'habitants' remain to-day much the same in language, religion, custom, and outlook as they were two hundred and fifty years ago. The officials discouraged them from roaming and they settled down on their fields except when called out for military service against the Iroquois or New Englanders. They all belonged to the militia, understood forest fighting, and, became a great source of military strength to French Canada.

The other half of the French Canadian people, the 'voyageurs' or explorers, continued their work with fresh

encouragement and support from the Quebec Government. La Salle, their greatest pioneer, had found the Upper Mississippi and floated down the great river to its mouth. The King of France called the lower basin of the river Louisiana, after his name, and it became a French settlement at the end of the seventeenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century their fur-traders had posts all round the great lakes, and especially important ones at Sault Ste. Marie, Michillimackinac, Detroit, and Niagara; strategic points where Lakes Superior and Michigan debouch into Lake Huron, Lake Huron into Lake Erie, and Lake Erie into Lake Ontario. They had even crossed the distant Red River, and traded on the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg. In the eighteenth century there were French settlements and forts behind the English colonies all along the lines of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their numerous tributaries, such as the Cumberland and Tennessee, which rise in the Alleghanies, are navigable almost to their sources. The canoe was the Canadian voyageur's favourite method of transport, so they pushed up these tributaries to the very back-doors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, encouraging the Indians to attack our pioneer farms and villages. Such were briefly the results of one hundred years of French settlement; results alarming enough to their English neighbours, who found themselves being hemmed in with no hinterland for expansion. Let us see how these English settlements had progressed during the same period.

The British Colonies in America up to 1756. We have noticed how geographical features encouraged the French to explore, but the English to remain near the sea-coast. There was another striking difference between them. The French colonial system, on the whole, conduced to military strength, the English system, or want of system, resulted in military weakness.

Geographically, socially, and according to religion, our seventeenth-century American colonies may be conveniently divided into two groups, those north of the Hudson's mouth

and those south of it. These groups were separated at first for forty years by Dutch territory. The mouth of the Hudson and its valley, the only road to Canada and the hinterland, were held by the New Netherlands Trading Company from 1623 to 1663, with trading stations at Orange (later Albany) near the Mohawk-Hudson confluence, and at New Amsterdam (later New York) by the river's mouth. The Dutch with their usual commercial instinct had found the natural centre of American trade, but they lost it to England in Charles II's time, after one of the Anglo-Dutch trade wars. From their Dutch conquests Charles II's energetic colonial government organized three small states, New York on both sides of the Hudson, and New Jersey and Delaware south of its mouth; but north-west of the Hudson lay New England proper, a mountainous region, where river navigation is prevented by waterfalls, the climate is cold and bleak owing to the Labrador current, and the soil so poor that it only yielded a living after a hard struggle. The Pilgrim Fathers left England in James I's reign owing to religious persecution, and settled at New Plymouth; 20,000 more puritans left England during Charles I's reign and founded the parent colony of Massachusetts, emigrants from which formed later the daughter colonies of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine. These settlements each jealously guarded their independence, and insisted on religious uniformity within their borders. Church and State, i.e. religion and government, were never separated in the seventeenth century. A new puritan sect had no choice but to conform or leave the settlement; a new sect formed in this way the little independent state of Rhode Island. But all the New England states had much in common with one another, and little sympathy with those south of the Hudson. When New York State became an English colony New England supplied it with many immigrants, who found they had much in common with the Protestant Dutch settlers, and inter-married with them.

South of the Hudson, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware,

Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas had each been founded independently and grew independently. They occupied an extensive coastal plain well served by navigable rivers with great estuaries and tidal waters right up to the final slope or 'fall line' of the Alleghanies; they enjoyed a mild climate and a fertile soil. Behind them lay the mountain barrier, through which even now few railways have penetrated, a natural obstacle which long checked the flow of settlement. Behind Pennsylvania and Virginia the way through the barrier was comparatively easy, and here we soon came into contact with the French, pushing eastward up the Ohio and its tributaries. The story of the 'crossing' of the Alleghanies farther south, and the founding of the states of Kentucky and Tennessee is one of the most interesting in American history, but belongs to the end of the eighteenth century, and is outside our present inquiry.

James I's reign saw the foundation of Virginia, where the James River and Jamestown still bear his name. Virginia is exceptional among these American colonies because it owed its foundation to a trading company, but it received many royalist refugees as colonists during the Commonwealth, and so shared to some extent their general character as a refuge for persecuted people. Maryland was founded in 1633 as a refuge for English Roman Catholics. The first settlements in the Carolinas were made by religious refugees from England, others from France followed later, but the colony was developed by a company to whom Charles II granted a charter; its white population came mainly from the West Indies. Virginia and the Carolinas, owing to their tropical climate, employed slave labour for rice, tobacco, and cotton cultivation, and so developed a different social life from the other colonies. Pennsylvania was founded in 1680 as a refuge for a sect called Quakers who believed in religious liberty, popular government, and abstention from war of any kind. Georgia was established in 1732 as a refuge for debtors.

The distinctive feature of all these separate communities

was self-government. This and their British origin was all they had in common. They were¹ almost the only self-governing lands in the seventeenth-century world outside the mother country, the United Provinces (i.e. Holland), and Switzerland. Nearly all of them from the very beginning possessed representative government,² the most advanced form of self-government then known to Englishmen. Their governors represented the English king, their Legislative Assemblies made laws like the English House of Commons, but the administration of these laws remained with the governors and their executive councils appointed by the crown. These executive councils, however, were nearly always composed of influential colonials, who represented colonial views, so the American colonies probably enjoyed fuller self-government than the King's subjects in England.³ Democratic institutions should be a blessing in peace time, but they have disadvantages in time of war. This has been proved again and again, especially in the recent European struggle. Thanks to self-government and the protection of the British Navy and Army our American colonies progressed amazingly in commerce and civilization during the first hundred and fifty years of their existence, but, in spite of the ever-present French and Indian dangers, they never combined for defence and took little interest in their militia. The frontier states of New England were an honourable exception; the French lay on their borders, where fishery and boundary disputes had been frequent, and they had often no choice but to fight or lose territory. But even they relied mainly on

¹ Bermuda, Barbados, and the Bahamas had similar constitutions.

² See definition on p. 40, Chapter IV.

³ So brief a sketch of early American colonial governments can only be generally true. They all differed widely from one another in detail, for the colonists everywhere borrowed and gradually developed from their English experiences the customs and forms of government which suited them best. The Stuart governments naturally maintained a closer connexion with the Southern colonies than with New England. In New England each town was at first an independent community, and local town government only gradually gave way to state government. Massachusetts was even left without any royal governor till 1692, when William III's government compelled her to accept one.

England for military protection, and got none from their southern neighbours.

The Seven Years' War, 1756-63. Such were the conditions in America in 1756 at the outbreak of the decisive Seven Years' War. Previous wars had given us Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, but had little effect on the French and English frontier where occasional fighting always went on whether there were an 'official' war in Europe or not. The first battle of the decisive war in America took place in 1755, the year before war was declared in Europe. The French had officially claimed all the country behind the mountains and built Fort Duquesne on the Ohio and some other forts as a sign of possession. Very few English colonists realized the full significance of this menace, but the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia did persuade the English Government to send two regiments to be used in driving the French out of the Ohio valley. The colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who were most interested in the undertaking, did not support it, but four hundred New England militia joined the regulars. Young George Washington, destined to lead the American colonies to victory in their War of Independence, was one of the few Virginians in the mixed force. After crossing the Alleghanies it was cut to pieces within a few miles of Fort Duquesne by a French and Indian force inferior in numbers but more expert at bush-fighting. For the next two years the southern colonies paid for their selfish inertness, for their outlying farms and villages were plundered and destroyed by the victorious Indians. England has only once lost a war, but all her most successful wars have begun, like the recent European War, with some defeats and disasters. The first three years of the Seven Years' War in America went steadily against us. The French sent over some good regiments and a first-class general, Montcalm; the English also sent regular troops, but at first some very incompetent generals. We failed to reach the Ohio, we failed to take the naval base of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island,

and suffered one reverse after another. Montcalm advanced down the Richelieu and Lake Champlain route, and threatened New York.

In 1758 the tide turned in our favour, partly because the French Government became too hard pressed in Europe to support Montcalm properly ; before the end of the war he was almost deserted, and had instructions from France to hold out as long as possible in the hope of a peace in Europe, which might come at any moment. But the chief reason for our success was a change of ministry in England. Pitt, the greatest English War Minister and organizer of victory, took over the control of the war from his incompetent predecessors. He recalled old, hesitating generals, replaced them by Wolfe, Amherst, Forbes, and Howe, men of real ability, and decided to strike at Quebec and Montreal by a well-concerted strategic plan. Wolfe, with Admiral Saunders's help, was to move up the St. Lawrence against Quebec ; Abercrombie, the last of the old generals, with Howe as his adviser, was to advance up the Richelieu, on Quebec ; another force was to push through the Mohawk gap to Oswego on Lake Ontario, and thence on to Montreal ; Forbes was to strike at the same time at Fort Duquesne and the other Ohio forts. Albany, at the Hudson-Mohawk confluence, was our head-quarters. The operations began with a military disaster caused by a blunder of Abercrombie. He was signally defeated at Ticonderoga while trying to force a passage between Lake George and Lake Champlain, defended by a stockade which he foolishly attempted to storm without first using his artillery, though it was near at hand. Howe was killed in action the day before this defeat, which would not have occurred if he had lived. Ticonderoga was our last failure in this war. After it Pitt's plan of campaign was uniformly successful. Louisburg and Fort Duquesne fell in 1758, Quebec in 1759, Montreal in 1760. Before peace came in 1763 France had ceased to be a power in North America.

The most dramatic and decisive battle of the war, perhaps the most dramatic and decisive in all history, was the battle

The British Empire

on the Heights of Abraham outside Quebec, in which both Montcalm and Wolfe fell, and the issue of the war was settled. Their joint monument stands there now bearing the legend,

Virtus mortem communem
Famam historia
Monumentum posteritas
dedit.

Results of the Seven Years' War. The capture of Quebec decided once for all the two great questions at issue. The North American hinterland was to be colonized by Anglo-Saxons, not by Frenchmen; North America, instead of being controlled from Quebec by a strong central military power insisting on uniformity in Church and State, became the home of self-government and freedom.

PART II. AFTER THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

In 1763 the British Empire stood on a pinnacle of greatness, to which, if we judge greatness by possibilities of future power, influence, and service to civilization, she has never attained since. The Empire still included the thirteen Atlantic coast colonies, and had removed the chief hindrances to their western expansion; it included Canada too, and soon began to win the attachment of her French population, which was allowed to keep its own laws, language, and religion. The foundations of British power in India had also been securely laid. We now look back with regret to 1763, for here was fair promise of a world Empire, peopled by free men, founded on self-governing institutions, and strong enough to discourage any future menace to the world's peace by military despotisms. Had we built firmly and wisely on the foundations of 1763, neither Napoleon in 1803, nor Kaiser William in 1914 would have conceived those schemes of military conquest which plunged unwilling Europe and a reluctant world into wars.¹

¹ On the other hand the loss of the U.S.A. may have proved, in the long run, a source of strength to the British Empire, whose permanence

War of American Independence ; its causes and results.
Twelve years after the close of the Seven Years' War began another seven years' war, the War of American Independence, in which we lost the best part of the Empire we had gained. Let us consider briefly the cause of this disaster.

They are not so simple as most American and English school histories represent. As usual there was much to be said on both sides. George III and his Tory ministers were not cruel tyrants afflicting the American colonists with taxes for England's benefit, though this extreme view has been commonly held in England as well as America. They were ordinary conscientious men who blundered badly in handling a very delicate problem which no one then understood.

We have already noticed how the origin and geographical position of the thirteen colonies kept them independent and mutually jealous. They refused to co-operate for their own defence, and depended for it mainly on the mother country. The defence of the American colonies had for long proved a heavy burden to the English people, who had other wars to finance in Europe and India, and were much less able than the Americans to support the burden. The ill-advised taxes which George III's Government attempted to impose on the Americans were trifling in themselves, but met fierce resistance because they were something new, because they had not been voted by the American Legislative Assemblies, and because they were erroneously regarded as an attack on colonial self-government and liberty.

These colonies, as we have seen, possessed representative¹ government, but not the more advanced form of self-govern-

depends largely to-day on the nearly equal balance of power between Canada, India, South Africa, and Australia. Had we retained the U.S.A. the Empire would have been most unevenly balanced. The writer is indebted to a note by Sir Charles Lucas for this interesting suggestion.

¹ See definition on p. 40, Chapter IV, also Chapter V, p. 59.

ment known as responsible government, which was only beginning to be understood in England itself. Though they did not know it, they were really fighting for a fuller share in the control of their own affairs than could possibly be granted them so long as they left the vital duty of military defence to the mother country. English control of customs duties was another grievance ; the Americans were beginning to resent any interference with their growing trade, and could not understand that trade and defence were the first of a series of wider interests which could not be handled properly by a number of small independent governments. If the colonies had been federated in 1770 under a system of responsible government (i. e. with complete control of their internal affairs), the Imperial Government might very well have left them to settle the problem of defence for themselves, and all English troops could have been withdrawn after reasonable notice ; but such a course occurred to no Englishman then. The grant of responsible government to a federation of the thirteen colonies seems now the only possible solution of the dispute, but no one could be expected to find such a solution at a time when responsible government was imperfectly developed and understood even in England. Men on both sides failed to see clearly the question at issue, and their vision was further obscured by a mist of legal arguments which were exchanged mostly on unessential points for eleven weary years during which each side became more and more exasperated by misunderstanding, until the inevitable deadlock resulted in war.

The British conquest of Canada in 1763 has rightly been classed among the principal causes of the American revolution of 1775. To the British it seemed black ingratitude for the colonists to turn on England as soon as she had freed them from the menace of French domination, and it is certain that they could not have broken free, so long as France retained her grip on the American continent. In justice to the colonists we should notice, however, that the

colonial system had not been working well for many years before the Seven Years' War. The prevalence of smuggling proved the irksomeness of the customs duties which England imposed. Representative government no longer satisfied the colonists, who were not responsible for the administration of their own laws. So many disputes had arisen between them and the governors and judges appointed by the Crown that they had hit on the plan of withholding their governors' salaries until they gave way on any point in dispute. Serious trouble would have occurred much sooner but for the pressure of France in the north and west. Once that pressure was removed, matters had to come to a head, there was nothing for it but a change in the colonial system, or civil war.

The student must seek elsewhere for details of this war (1775-82). We may notice here that it illustrated again two points which have already been mentioned in this book: the importance of the old Hudson River, Lake George, Lake Champlain, and Richelieu River route from New York to Quebec, and the importance of sea-power. When France, Spain, and Holland eventually joined the Americans against us, the strong French Navy, by interfering with England's communications and supplies, did much to ensure her defeat. In the first year of the war an American army made a dash for Canada up the usual route as far as Quebec, but were beaten off by a few British regular troops and French volunteers, who were soon strongly reinforced from England. Two years later at Saratoga, a little north of Albany, an English army moving southwards from Canada by the same route, in the hope of joining another at New York, was surrounded and forced to capitulate. Though fighting went on for four more years in the southern states, the capitulation of Saratoga proved the decisive battle of the war, for it closed the Hudson River route to British troops, and so made it impossible for the King's forces in Canada to help those fighting further south.

The Founding of British Canada by United Empire Loyalists. We have noticed on pages 62 and 63 of this chapter some of the wider results of this disastrous war. A more immediate and definite result of equal importance must now be recorded. So far Canada had few English settlers, but the war provided her with large numbers of them. Many Englishmen in the thirteen colonies did not think the King's action justified the extreme course of rebellion. The 'Loyalists' as they called themselves, or 'Tories' as they were called by the rebels, lost all their land and property at the end of the war, and about forty thousand of them became the founders of British Canada. They were rewarded for their loyalty by free grants of uncleared land in the wild woods of Nova Scotia¹ or Upper Canada, and transported thither by the British Government, which also provided them with axes, agricultural implements, building materials, and rations for two years. These people had been accustomed to civilized conditions of life in the old colonies, yet they preferred discomfort and hardship to disloyalty. Owing to their isolated situation, one hundred miles away from the nearest civilization at Montreal, the Upper Canada pioneers especially had for many years a terrible struggle for existence, but their sturdy labour, supported later by the steady flow of immigration from the United States, gradually converted the Upper Canada backwoods into a fertile and prosperous settlement. The sacrifices which these United Empire Loyalists made for the English connexion have lived on till to-day in their children's memories. Modern Canadians are proud if they can prove their descent from United Empire Loyalist stock. British Canada has been consistently and fervently loyal to the English connexion, and has sturdily rejected any suggestion of their absorption by the United States, though many Englishmen as well as Americans long regarded it as inevitable and desirable.

Canada Act of 1791. Separation of Upper and Lower

¹ The Loyalists settled mainly in that part of Nova Scotia which was separated from it in 1784 as New Brunswick.

Canada, and Representative Government. The arrival of the United Empire Loyalists in 1783-4 is the first landmark in the history of British Canada. Eight years after its settlement the growing community in Upper Canada was separated from French Lower Canada by the Canada Act of 1791, which also conferred representative government¹ on each of the provinces. The Lower Canada Parliament sat at Quebec, the smaller Upper Canada Parliament sat at first at the little backwoods village of Niagara. Representative government and the separation of Upper and Lower Canada continued for a period of fifty years, i. e. until 1841, when the two provinces were united, and responsible replaced representative government.

War with U.S.A., 1812-14. Half-way through this period of representative government occurred, in 1812-14, a hard-fought three years' war with the United States. England was then in the middle of her death-struggle with Napoleon, and had offended the Americans by searching their ships for contraband of war (i. e. anything forbidden to be supplied by neutrals to belligerents). The Southern States of America strongly sympathized with France, and Americans generally failed to see, as many of them failed to see in 1914, that England was defending the freedom of Europe. Because they had won their own liberty by shaking off a European connexion, Americans until recently have been inclined to regard liberty as something peculiar to their country. In 1800 and 1914 they felt little responsibility for the condition of Europe, and were not inclined to meddle in what seemed to them the distant and unimportant squabbles of European monarchies, whose rulers they were too apt to class together as tyrants ruling over slavish peoples who probably deserved their fate. In 1812 things looked black for Canada. There were thousands of American colonists in Upper Canada, and no one could foresee how they would act; quarrels between English and French in Lower Canada made its conquest seem easy. There were

¹ See note on p. 40, Chapter IV.

only four thousand regular troops in Canada, while the Americans had immense resources. Canada was saved by the valour of the descendants of the Ontario United Empire Loyalists and of the French-Canadians, who proved unexpectedly staunch, by the good generalship of the English commanders, by bad leadership and organization on the American side, by the neutrality of the American settlers in Canada, and by the virtual refusal of the New England States, who had many friends across the border, to take any part in the war. Most of the fighting took place along the hundred miles of the St. Lawrence between Kingston and Montreal, along the thirty miles of the Niagara River between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and upon these two lakes, where little fleets supplied transport to both sides and fought each other. In the end Canada more than held her own. This war is little known outside Canada, but Canadians are rightly proud of it. Its result was to intensify Canadian loyalty, and to make absorption by the United States more improbable than ever, for people value highly that for which they or their fathers have fought and died.

Representative Government in Upper Canada. Apart from this dramatic struggle, which divided in half the fifty years' period of representative government from 1791 to 1842, its interest is mainly political. We must consider next how representative government worked during fifty years in the separate provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and how it came to be replaced by responsible government, and the two provinces to be united.

Representative government at first worked well in Upper Canada, whose British population had the advantage of generations of self-government behind them. Before 1815, when the great European War ended, there was no immigration from Europe, and the British Government encouraged for twenty years a steady flow of emigrants from the United States, which brought the population by 1812 to over eighty thousand. The United Empire Loyalists foresaw

the coming war with their neighbours, and distrusted the American immigrants. This distrust, though natural, was hardly justified by the future, for the American immigrants were at first wholly occupied by the laborious work of settlement, and, as we have noticed, remained neutral when the struggle came.

The United Empire Loyalists, as was to be expected, were the first class of settlers to rise to affluence, and they naturally provided nearly all the superior civil servants required by the growing province, gained a predominant influence over government, and for long claimed and enjoyed political power quite out of proportion to their numbers.

After 1815 universal peace and the industrial revolution (vide Chapter IV, pp. 41 and 42) in England resulted in a steady flow of English and Scottish immigrants to Canada. The original settlers clung so closely to their privileges, showed such mistrust of democratic ideas, and by their connexion with the Government secured so much influence and so many desirable posts, that they became known as the 'Family Compact', and gradually aroused the united opposition of almost all the unprivileged immigrants, English or American. Upper Canada got a name for disputes and factions which spread to England and practically stopped immigration. Had the executive of the province been responsible to the legislature, the new popular party could easily have broken down the 'Family Compact'; hence arose a strong agitation for a responsible government, which culminated in 1837 in a small but easily suppressed rebellion headed by a republican fanatic named Mackenzie.

We may summarize the fifty years' period of representative government in Upper Canada by stating that at first the system worked well, but that towards the end of the period it broke down owing to the differences between the American and later British immigrants on the one hand, and the descendants of the United Empire Loyalists on the other, the former supporting extreme republican ideas, the latter being

conservative and too jealously retentive of their privileges. We shall see later how the dispute was finally settled by putting an end to the privileges of the minority, the 'Family Compact', and by giving real responsibility to the popular party, who soon learnt political wisdom and moderation from experience.

Representative Government in Lower Canada. More serious difficulties of a somewhat similar character in Lower Canada resulted in another unsuccessful rebellion during the same year. Here, too, the executive and the legislature had long been at loggerheads, and the political dispute was embittered by racial jealousy. The grant of representative government to Lower Canada in 1791 had worked badly from the beginning, and proved a curse instead of a boon. During her first twenty-eight years of British rule French Canada, grateful at retaining her language, laws, and church, had lived prosperously and contentedly under the paternal and autocratic form of government to which she was accustomed. For no other reason than that Upper and Lower Canada might receive equal treatment, the Canadian Constitutional Act of 1791 suddenly presented the latter with representative government, for which she was unsuited by her training and traditions, and for which she had never expressed the least desire. The French at first disliked the idea of a representative assembly, which they regarded as 'une machine anglaise pour nous taxer' (an English device to get taxes out of us). There is no more striking example in history of the danger and cruelty of prematurely granting self-government to a people who were not yet fitted to receive it. The French-Canadians had no traditions of local or parliamentary self-government, and most of them were illiterate, ignorant people, without any desire for change. Their representatives, however, mainly young lawyers, journalists, and doctors, soon made up by their own extreme demands for the apathy of their electors; from the first they demanded complete control of every depart-

ment of government, and devoted their energies to political agitation, instead of the improvement of the country's trade, communications, and commerce. Nor had they any real power or opportunities of learning political wisdom from their own mistakes so long as the government of the country still remained in the hands of an executive appointed by the Crown. The legislative assembly was little more than an irresponsible and reckless debating society. The French demand for more complete responsible government was intelligible, but for a long time it could not be granted because of the political inexperience and incapacity of the French politicians, the illiteracy and ignorance of their constituents, the constant threat of republican intrigue or invasion from the United States, and the just claims to consideration of the English minority, who controlled much of the wealth and commerce of the country, as it does in India to-day. The British party at first were ready to compromise on matters in dispute with their French fellow-citizens, for compromise had been in the past the soul of the British political system, and without compromise no form of self-government is workable. The French incapacity for self-government was proved by their dislike of compromise on any question, and it has taken many generations of training and experience to teach them its necessity.

The British party thus came to regard co-operation with the French as impracticable, and were further exasperated by the violence and folly of their press, and by their neglect of those public works which are a vital necessity to an undeveloped country. The only bright features were the loyalty and good sense shown by the French Roman Catholic clergy, who consistently discouraged political agitation, and the gallant support of government by the French-Canadians during the war of 1812-14. The French might criticize our government, but they had no desire to exchange it for that of the United States of America, under which they knew they would lose their language, their law, and the

State's support of their religion. The healing effect of the American war on internal quarrels did not last long. Political and racial disputes were soon once more paralysing the growth of Lower Canada. As in the Upper Province, the climax came in an unsuccessful rebellion in 1837, organized by a Frenchman, Papineau, who soon fled to the United States, leaving some hundreds of his misguided followers to sacrifice their lives for a hopeless cause.

Lord Durham's Report, 1838-9. Though Mackenzie's and Papineau's rebellions were easily suppressed, they convinced the English Government that Canada's affairs could no longer be allowed to drift. The Canadian situation was the first important matter to be dealt with by the ministers of Victoria, the new Queen. In 1838, they sent out Lord Durham, a great Liberal statesman, as High Commissioner, to restore order and report on conditions in the Canadas. He has been described as the man who 'made a country but marred a career', for, when his high-handed methods of suppressing agitation had been condemned in the House of Lords, he soon returned, without being officially recalled, of his own accord to England. He drew up, however, a famous report on Canadian affairs, which clearly defined the causes of their distracted condition. 'In Lower Canada', he wrote, 'I expected to find a contest between a government and a people. I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state.' In Upper Canada he noticed the preponderating influence of the 'Family Compact' as the chief cause of dissension; this organization 'by means of . . . its influence in the Executive Council . . . wielded all the powers of government. . . . Successive Governors are said to have submitted quietly to its influence or, after a short and unavailing struggle, to have yielded to this well-organized party the real conduct of affairs.' As a remedy he recommended firstly the union of the two Canadas, which would protect the English minority in Lower Canada from being swamped by the French majority, and secondly, responsible government, which would give the colonial assemblies

control of the executive, and so let them learn wisdom and responsibility from real experience of the working of government. 'Perfectly aware', he wrote, 'of the value of our colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connexion with them, I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country. The matters, which so concern us, are very few. The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the mother country, the other British colonies and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands, are the only points on which the mother country requires control. This control is now sufficiently secured by the authority of the Imperial Legislature; by the protection which the Colony derives from us against foreign enemies; by the beneficial terms which our laws secure to its trade; and by its share of the reciprocal benefits which would be conferred by a wise system of colonization. A perfect subordination, on the part of the Colony, on these points, is secured by the advantages which it finds in its continuance of its connexion with the Empire. It certainly is not strengthened, but greatly weakened, by a vexatious interference on the part of the Home Government with the enactment of laws for regulating the internal concerns of the Colony, or in the selection of the persons entrusted with their execution. The best colonist may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs; but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to right judgement on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest sufferers; and like the people

of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy.'

The arguments in favour of responsible government have never been more clearly stated. By 1838 this form of government had at last become firmly established and thoroughly understood in England.¹ Lord Durham was the first to recommend its introduction in her colonies. His report is the most important document in the history of the British Empire because the principles it advocates were successfully applied at first to Upper and Lower Canada, then to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, New Zealand, the Australian colonies, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, in fact to whatever parts of the British Empire contained a sufficient number of educated citizens to be likely to benefit by it. The gradual application of the same principle to British India, in spite of specially serious difficulties which must first be overcome, seems now to be only a matter of time, for it has been declared to be the goal towards which our Indian administration is working.

Union of Upper and Lower Canada, 1841. Establishment of Responsible Government. In 1841, in spite of some natural resistance from the French majority in the lower province, the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada were united by Act of Parliament. Full responsible government came more gradually to its final accomplishment, which required governors to choose their ministers from the party with a majority in the legislative assembly. This custom they tentatively at first, but soon definitely adopted, until by 1850 the principle of responsible government may be said to have been definitely established not only in Canada proper, but also in the three still independent maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

The Dominion of Canada, 1867. The union of Upper and

¹ See p. 40, Chapter IV.

Lower Canada proved so successful that before long the inclusion of these maritime states was considered, and at length actually accomplished by the British North America Act of 1867, which founded the present Dominion of Canada. Two great Canadian statesmen, a Scotchman, Sir John Macdonald, and a Frenchman, Sir George Cartier, share the credit of this great accomplishment. They overcame the objections of French-Canadian statesmen, and the still more serious opposition of statesmen in the maritime provinces who were called on to sacrifice unselfishly their own positions for the public good.

In the early sixties steam had done much to link up the scattered provinces. Steamships ran on all the great lakes and rivers, the Grand Trunk Railway had already linked up Lower and Upper Canada, and an inter-colonial railway between Quebec and the maritime provinces was already projected.

The great Civil War between the Northern and Southern United States had just ended in 1865. It had been won by the northern states, who fought for the abolition of slavery and against the 'right to secede' from federation, which the southern states claimed. Unfortunately England earned the enmity of the northern states because many Englishmen expressed sympathy with the losing side, and the English Government allowed English shipbuilders to provide and refit privateers used by the south against the northern shipping. The northern states for a time at least were no longer good neighbours to Canada, and another war between England and the United States seemed at one time very probable, so Canada felt the need of federation for her own defence. Thus the American Civil War helped the work of Macdonald and Cartier.

The internal troubles of the United States supplied also a useful lesson to the framers of the constitution of the new Dominion of Canada. When the United States drew up their constitution after the War of Independence, each

state jealously guarded as many of its 'rights' as possible, the central government was too weak, and a terrible civil war was needed to establish its necessary authority. Under the new Canadian constitution the Federal Government was made paramount, the provinces only retaining control of certain matters definitely enumerated, such as taxation within their borders, management of their public lands, education, municipal institutions, and provincial courts. The Federal Government took over all other branches of administration, and was from the first a strong and efficient central government. The Dominion Parliament met at Ottawa, and its offices there became the centre of the Dominion administration.

The confederation of Canada has proved a complete success. It ended serious friction between the French and English. In the Provincial Parliament at Quebec the French soon learnt political wisdom and produced broad-minded statesmen like the late Sir Wilfred Laurier, for many years Prime Minister of the Dominion. We shall notice later how the success of the Dominion of Canada helped in 1900 and 1910 the formation of similar confederations in Australia and South Africa.

The Canadian Pacific Railway and Opening of the North-West. The rest of Canada's history is mainly the history of a railway. The project of the Canadian Pacific Railway was first mooted in 1870 ; its last links were completed in 1885. Between those dates the great north-west prairie country was opened up to settlement, and steady immigration to the prairies began. Till 1869 the North-West had no existence for Canada except as a fur-trading ground. It took the fur-traders ten weeks to travel by canoe from Montreal to Fort Garry, the fur-trading centre on Lake Winnipeg. The great attraction to settlers of this prairie country, which rolls for nearly eight hundred miles from the west of Lake Superior to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, has been its treelessness. It needed no laborious clearing. The prairie pioneer began where the old backwoods settler

only arrived after years of labour. But it was very generally believed even in 1869 that the intense cold of the prairies would be unfavourable to cultivation, and too severe for the health of any permanent settlers. The projectors of the Canadian Pacific Railway were therefore to some extent gamblers. Their plan was to carry settlers, agricultural implements, and building materials out on to the prairie, and get the country gradually settled as the line advanced. If the settlers made good the line would succeed. If they or their crops found the climate too severe, the line would prove a financial failure. It was fortunately proved before long that the climate was healthy for vigorous people, and the virgin soil of the prairie second to none in the world for growing wheat. The filling up of the North-West went on steadily for many years, but so slowly that the success of the railway was doubtful up to the year 1898. After that year, for no special reasons, except, perhaps, that all unoccupied land in the west of the United States had been taken up and American farmers with experience and capital set the example of immigration to Canada, things went forward rapidly, and the prosperity of the prairie land and the success of the great railway which created it are now accomplished facts.¹

British Columbia's Accession, 1871. The Prairie Provinces created, 1870-82. The promise of the railway's extension to British Columbia induced that province to join the Dominion in 1871, while the opening up of the great North-West led to the creation of three prairie provinces, Manitoba in 1870, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1904.

Growth of Canadian National Spirit and Loyalty to Empire. Besides the astounding development of the North-West, the history of modern Canada has been remarkable for the growth of two Canadian characteristics which have puzzled many observers as apparently incompatible, but are not really

¹ The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway now also crosses Canada, and is opening up the country north of the C.P.R. Yet another trans-continental railway, the Canadian Northern, is being constructed. Both have been taken over by the Government to form the Canadian National Railways.

so ; the growth of a distinctively Canadian national spirit, and a growing sense of membership of the British Empire and responsibility towards it. Canadian nationality is the direct outcome of the federation which took place in 1867, and of the freedom for independent development which the British imperial system has everywhere encouraged. Readers of this chapter should be able to understand some of the peculiar traits of the typical Canadian ; his sturdy personal independence has resulted from a hard struggle for existence against natural obstacles ; his American mentality and outlook on life, which bring him closer in some respects to his cousins in the United States than to Englishmen, may be inherited from ancestors who came from one of the thirteen old American colonies ; his intense loyalty to the English connexion may be explained by the story of the United Empire Loyalists, and that of the Canadian-American War of 1812-14.

The sense of imperial responsibility in Canada was first generally awakened by the South African War of 1899-1902 (vide Chapter VIII, pp. 178 and 179), during which Canada supplied the Empire with valuable reinforcements. Canada's magnificent and voluntary response in 1914 to the call of the Empire and of the civilized world is the greatest and noblest page of her history, but is outside the scope of this chapter.

Books recommended for further study.

PART I

Canada and Newfoundland. Vol. V of Sir Charles Lucas's Historical Geography of the Dominions. Clarendon Press.

Canada. Bradley. Home University Library. Chapters I and II.

Montcalm and Wolfe. Parkman. Two vols. Everyman's Library. Macmillan.

The Expansion of the British Empire. Woodward. Cambridge University Press. Chapter V.

American History for Secondary Schools. Ashley. Macmillan. Chapters III, IV, and V.

The British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. Book II, Chapter I.

The Fight with France for North America. Bradley. Constable.

PART II

Canada. Bradley. Home University Library. Chapters III to X.

Expansion of the British Empire. Woodward. Chapters VI and VII.

History of England in the Eighteenth Century. Lecky. Vol. IV, Chapters XII, XIV, and XV.

American History for Secondary Schools. Ashley. Macmillan. Chapters VII and VIII.

The British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. Book II, Chapter I.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

PART I

1. Give some account of early French colonial policy and its results in North America.

2. Compare the strength and position of France and England in North America in 1750. Contrast their systems of government and defence.

3. Draw a sketch map from memory to illustrate the Seven Years' War in America. Describe it.

PART II

1. What was the connexion between the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence. Compare their consequences.

2. Discuss the causes of the War of American Independence. Why have they often been mis-represented ?

3. Discuss the working of Representative Government in Upper and Lower Canada ? To what difficulties did it lead in each case ?

4. What colonial questions did Lord Durham consider should be reserved for Imperial control ? How many of them does the Imperial Government control to-day ?

5. Briefly describe the chief Canadian constitutional changes in 1842, and after that date.

6. Compare and contrast the Union of the thirteen American colonies in 1763 with the Canadian Confederation.

7. Discuss the growth and character of Canadian nationality

8. Discuss some of the wider results of the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRALIA.

WE noticed in Chapter IV that, of the long list of eighteenth-century acquisitions to the British Empire, all but four, Georgia, Penang, Sierra Leone, and New South Wales, were direct results of the second Hundred Years' War. The same chapter noticed that the peaceful acquisition of the last and the most important of these three territories was an indirect result of the War of American Independence (see Chapter IV, p. 46). The discovery of Australia, and its settlement and development by Englishmen from 1788 to 1914, is the subject of this chapter.

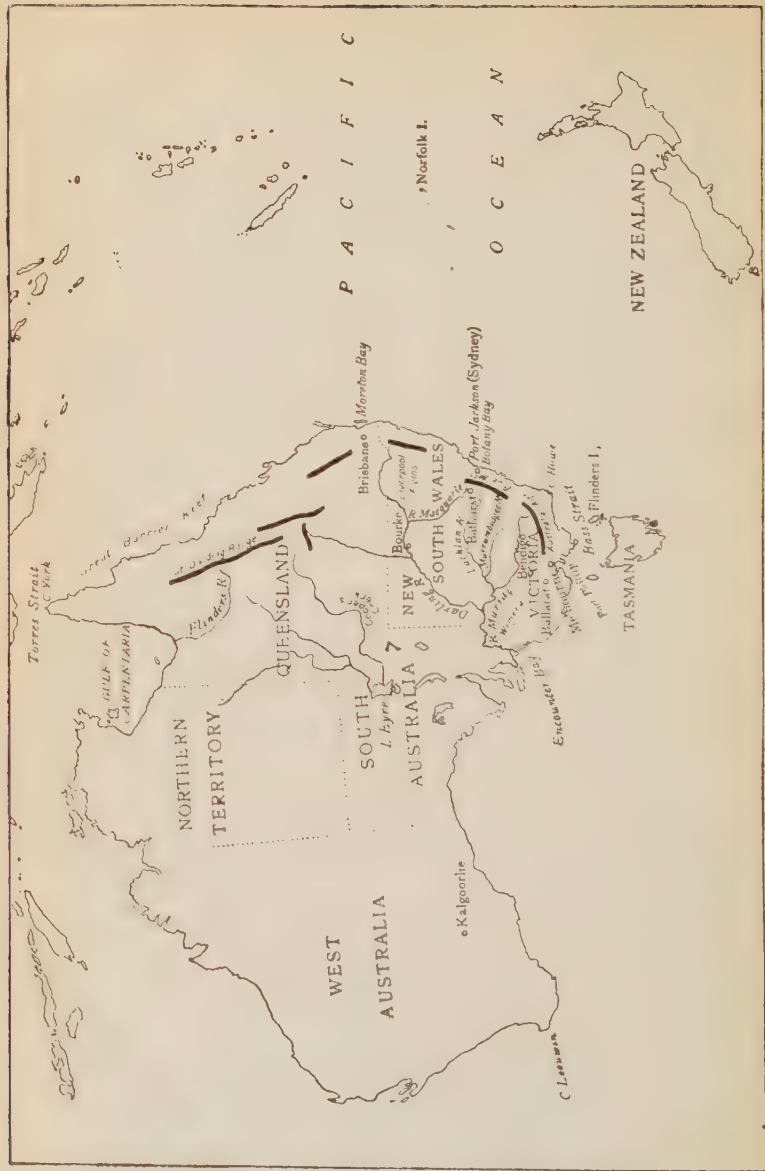
The Limitations of Australian History. Its special Interest. Australian history is a thing apart, for it has no deep roots in the distant past, like the history of India, North America, and South Africa. Before 1914 Australia was only indirectly and remotely concerned with European wars; no armies have ever fought on her soil, yet her story is of absorbing interest to an intelligent student. The influence of geography on history is so striking in Australia that it is hardly too much to say that Australian history is Australian geography. 'Happy is the nation which has no history,' if history means the disturbing tumult of campaigns and battles. Thanks to their peaceful isolation, Australia and New Zealand have had leisure and opportunity for daring experiments in Government and social organization (see p. 104 and following pages of this chapter), which have been watched with interest by many other civilized communities who are seeking, like her, to secure the best conditions of life for their citizens. It is true that experiments lead to mistakes, but, thanks to her isolated position, Australia could afford to risk mistakes which would have imperilled the existence of other

communities, who have had the advantage of watching without risk the results of her experiments.

The development of social and political institutions, and the influence of geography on human life are therefore the two paramount interests in this chapter.

In connexion with the former the student must specially note the importance of the colony's convict origin, and of the discovery of gold, for these two circumstances, along with her geographical situation and relief, have been the great moulding influences in Australian history.

Geographical Description of the Continent. As an introduction we will now briefly consider the relief, rivers, natural vegetation, and climate of the continent, beginning with the west coast and moving eastwards. A somewhat dry and barren west coast, watered by a few unimportant rivers, growing little but poor grass and scrub, but with rather better rainfall and forest growth in the north and south, rises to a still more dry and barren central plateau like those of Arabia or the Kalihari, and somewhat like that of the Deccan, which, however, is better off for rainfall. This central plateau stretches more than half-way across the continent, and is succeeded by the central lowlands stretching from Cape Carpentaria to Encounter Bay, and drained by the Flinders and other rivers flowing north into the Gulf of Carpentaria, the Cooper Creek, and other inland rivers draining into Lake Eyre, and the Murray and its tributaries draining into Encounter Bay ; these central lowlands, like the central plateau, have scanty and uncertain rainfall, but, as we go east, the rainfall improves because a certain amount is received from the Pacific Ocean. The central lowlands rise very gradually towards the Great Dividing Range, the most striking and important of Australia's physical features. This great barrier is highest in the south, has a very gradual western slope but descends precipitously into the narrow coastal plains which lie between it and the Pacific. The coastal plains, the Dividing Range, and the



extensive elevated tableland which forms its gradual western slope are the favoured regions of Australia, for they all receive more or less plentiful rain brought from the Pacific by the south-east trade winds. They are fortunate too in their rivers. From the Dividing Range several important rivers flow eastwards through the coastal plain to the Pacific, and inland into the great Darling-Murray river basin, which drains into Encounter Bay. Some of the rivers are important for navigation as well as for irrigation. The Darling is 1,160 miles long and navigable for river steamers to Bourke, 650 miles from the sea ; the Murray is 1,120 miles long and navigable for 1,000 miles ; its tributary, the Murrumbidgee, is also navigable for 500 miles to Wagga-wagga. The rivers of the eastern coastal plain are also of considerable importance, and in many points resemble those of the south Atlantic slope in our old North American colonies (see Chapter V, p. 58). To quote Dr. Lang, an early historian of New South Wales, ' The rivers that fall into the Pacific along the coast line are formed from the confluence of the numerous mountain streams that rise in the gullies on the eastern slope of the great dividing range. Their course to the ocean is, therefore, necessarily short ; but, as if to compensate for this shortness of course, they generally run for a considerable distance either northward or southward along the base of the mountains, receiving accessions of volume from other mountain streams in their course. On the banks of these rivers there is usually a larger or smaller extent of alluvial land, subject to occasional inundations, but of the richest character for all sorts of cultivation, and covered, in a state of nature, with the most luxuriant vegetation. Besides, these rivers are uniformly tidal rivers and available, in some instances, for a considerable distance from their mouths for steam navigation.'

The northern half of Australia is in the tropics, and in summer the heated land, as in southern Asia, attracts from the sea a moisture-laden monsoon. These north-east winds

bring heavy rain to the northern coasts, which are consequently covered with luxuriant tropical jungle, but the steep edges of the central plateau prevent the monsoon from benefiting the interior.

The student should supplement by further study this incomplete geographical sketch. It will, however, serve to explain five points of great importance in Australian history :

1. The great superiority of Australia's east coast, which was discovered late, to her other coasts which were discovered early.

2. The special advantages possessed by the south-east corner of the continent.

3. The worthlessness of much of its interior.

4. The difficulty of successful European settlement on the north coast, which suggested the importation of labour accustomed to tropical conditions.

5. The disadvantages of the west coast for settlement unless agriculture and pastoral pursuits could be supplemented by some other industry such as mining or manufactures.

The Discovery of Australia. Which European sailor or nation discovered the continent of Australia is a disputed question of no very great importance. The story of so-called Australian discoveries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been well described as a 'tangled skein' which nobody has succeeded in unravelling. It contains the names of many French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and English sailors, but few of them gave the world any accurate knowledge ; most of them, to deceive trade rivals, deliberately lied about what they had discovered, and not a single European settlement resulted from their reports. It is one of the puzzles of history how the Dutch could have sent ships constantly for more than a hundred and fifty years from the Cape to Java and Timor, the Spaniards for longer still from Panama to the Philippines, and paid so little

attention to Australia. The Portuguese too, if the spirit of Henry the Navigator had lived in that nation, might have been expected to find and explore a new continent so near some of their East Indian settlements. The fact is that these four nations undertook voyages for gain alone, and cared nothing for discovery for its own sake. They did from time to time accidentally blunder on to Australia's uninviting and practically uninhabited western coast, which they long regarded as islands worthless for trade or settlement. The Dutch sprinkled this coast with Dutch wrecks and Dutch names, but supplied the world with no reliable information about it. Not till 1771 did Cook, a discoverer of an entirely new type, find Australia's inviting and well-watered east coast, and give to the world scientific and accurate information which led to its systematic settlement.

Cook's Voyages. Cook's great reputation rests on three voyages of discovery which occupied the last ten years of his life, i. e. from 1768 to 1779, after he had reached the age of forty. Before this period (thanks to his natural ability and application to mathematics) he had risen from the lowest ranks of the Royal Navy. He had fought in the Seven Years' War, serving under Admiral Saunders at the taking of Louisberg and Quebec (see Chapter V, pp. 61 and 62). As a pilot in the *St. Lawrence* he showed his genius for navigating unknown and difficult waters, and he was later given command of a schooner to survey and chart the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. While on this service he made accurate notes of an eclipse of the sun which brought him to the notice of the Royal Society in England, a Society which was and is devoted to the furtherance of scientific knowledge. Sailors with scientific tastes were rare in those days, so, when the Royal Society persuaded the King to dispatch the *Endeavour* to the Pacific Ocean with a staff of astronomers to observe a transit of Venus from Tahiti, one of the Society Islands, Cook was placed in command. He had rather vague instructions from the Admiralty 'to

make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean' after the astronomers had finished their work at Tahiti, and 'to return to England by such route as he should think proper'.

From Tahiti he ran south-west to New Zealand, and spent six months patiently and accurately charting the whole coast-line. He then went in search of the unknown eastern coast of the Dutchman's New Holland, and he struck it south of Cape Howe. 'Thence', to quote from Mr. Fitchett's book, the *New World of the South*, 'he crept northwards along the whole vast stretch of more than 2,000 miles, sounding almost every fathom of the waters through which he passed, charting every curve and headland of the shore line, shipwrecked once on the Barrier Reef, and in danger of shipwreck often, but never once turning back or losing heart, till he crept through Torres Straits and bore up westward to Batavia.' He landed at some points including Cape York and Botany Bay, where he noted the European character of the climate and vegetation. After rounding Cape York he entered waters already charted by the Dutch, and knew that the coast he had just surveyed was the eastern side of New Holland; he therefore 'took possession of the whole eastern coast by the name of New Wales'.

This voyage lasted three years, 1769 to 1771, and brought Cook immediate fame, though no one then could realize its vast importance. It revealed to the world a new continent with a coast highly suitable for European colonization, which was to become one of the fairest possessions of the British Empire.

Cook's second voyage was in search of the imaginary continent which from the earliest times geographers had believed to exist south of New Holland; he sailed through unknown southern seas for vast distances, and definitely proved that no such continent existed.

The object of his last voyage was also imaginary; that unlucky North-West Passage from Atlantic to Pacific for

which so many other good sailors have sacrificed their lives. After unsuccessfully battling with Arctic storms for ten months, he returned through Behring Sea to refit during the winter of 1779 at Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands ; there he was killed in an unfortunate encounter with hostile savages.

The History of Australian Settlement. With Cook on his first voyage there sailed as botanist to the expedition a rich young man who afterwards became Sir Joseph Banks and President of the Royal Society. But for him it is probable that no more would have resulted from Cook's taking possession of the Australian coast than from many similar declarations by Dutch, French, and English explorers. Cook thought little of his discovery, but Banks, an influential man, never forgot Australia and did not allow the King's ministers to forget it. While Cook was discovering New South Wales, we were losing our old American colonies. This disaster had important results on the history of Australia. The English Government after 1782 actually entered into negotiations for settling American United Empire Loyalists (see Chapter V, p. 66) in New South Wales, but after a time gave up this plan of settlement for another.

We had been accustomed for the last hundred and twenty years to send about one thousand convicts yearly to Virginia and other American colonies to work as bondsmen for the free settlers, so one immediate result of the War of Independence was to overcrowd English prisons. Banks suggested and urged the transportation of convicts to Australia, and in 1787 the first convict fleet sailed for Botany Bay under Captain Phillip.

The history of our settlements in Australia up to 1914 may roughly and conveniently be divided into four periods :

1. A *first period from 1788 to 1810* during which the colony was confined to a narrow strip of coast and its governors were all sailors. During this period the exploration of the coast went forward fast, but the interior remained unexplored.

2. A *second period* from 1810 to 1850, notable for the exploration and settlement of the interior, successful agitation against transportation, and preparation for responsible government and separation from New South Wales of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania.

3. A *third period* from 1850 to 1901, notable for the discovery of gold, for the steady growth of democracy under responsible government in the separated colonies, and finally for their federation into one Australian Commonwealth.

4. A *fourth period* from 1901 to 1914, the history of the new federated Australian Commonwealth, up to the outbreak of the Great War. This period is most important for attempts to organize National Defence, and to settle the difficult question of Asiatic Immigration.

First Period of 'Quarter Deck Government', 1788 to 1810. Governor Phillip wisely planted his colony on the shores of Port Jackson (Sydney Bay), because Botany Bay, though enthusiastically recommended by Joseph Banks, proved unsuitable. The first four governors were all Captains of His Majesty's Navy, and, because they exercised the same despotic authority over the settlement as a naval commander exercises from his ship's quarter-deck, this period is known as that of 'quarter-deck government'. Governor Phillip was an able, upright man, and he needed all his ability for the task before him. The 'first fleet' consisted of two men-of-war, three store ships, six transports, and contained about two hundred officials and soldiers, and seven hundred and fifty-six prisoners (including about two hundred women) who had been convicted for crimes varying from murder to stealing a rabbit. The different degrees of criminality among the convicts was from the first a serious difficulty, and as soon as explorations made it possible, led to the establishment of branch settlements along the coast, as well as on Norfolk Island and Tasmania.

On the equipment of the expedition abundant money

had been spent, but little care or forethought. The official list of stores included 700 spades, 700 gimlets, 8,000 fish-hooks, 3 candle-sticks, and one Bible; but omissions of necessary equipment were numerous, including cartridges for the soldiers, clothes for the women, and records of the convicts' sentences, and of how long they had served. There were no carpenters or bricklayers, no school teachers or farmers (unless by chance among the convicts), and only one minister of religion.

The fear of Famine. The fear of convict risings was ever present during this period, and deterrent floggings were at first sadly frequent; that only one serious mutiny (in 1804) occurred, speaks well for the vigilance of the attendants. The fear of famine was for over twenty years a still more threatening nightmare. The land close to Port Jackson was not rich, and though successful farms were eventually established on the alluvial soil near the Hawkesbury and Hunter rivers, periodical floods and the absence of seeds and experienced farmers long retarded food production. During the whole of this period the settlement was confined to a narrow strip of coast-land forty miles broad by eighty miles long between the Blue Mountains and the sea, and much of it proved unsuitable for cultivation. For years New South Wales depended almost entirely on England for food. England had to spend about £79,000 a year on the settlement during its first five years, and far more later. Unfortunately she was soon engaged in so deadly a conflict with revolutionary France and Napoleon (see table, Chapter IV, p. 47), that she almost forgot her new and struggling colony. Sea-roads became precarious, and the arrival of ships uncertain as ever in war-time. While food-ships were often lost on the voyage, those containing convicts with fresh mouths to feed continued to arrive regularly. A good deal of food was imported from China and South Africa, and even from Norfolk Island, which proved very fertile, but the colony was constantly on short rations, and never safe from

starvation during the first twenty-five years of its existence until the barrier of the Blue Mountains was broken down in 1813 and a road opened across them to new and more fertile territory. The Blue Mountains are never more than 3,500 ft. high, lower than any Indian Hill Station. Viewed from a distance they do not seem a formidable barrier, but their extraordinarily precipitous chasms for twenty-five years defied one party after another which tried to cross them. Like the thick forests full of savages shooting poisoned arrows behind our present Indian convict settlement in the Andaman Islands they seemed at first a useful addition to a penal settlement. Such a barrier effectually prevented any attempts at escape by land.

Bass and Flinders. The early naval governors specially encouraged exploration by sea, and in this direction remarkable results were soon achieved by Bass and Flinders, who have written their names for all time on the Australian coast.

Flinders resembled in many ways his great predecessor Cook, for he had a passion for discovery, and became a bold navigator and a scientific observer. Before undertaking the peaceful work of discovery he fought, like Cook, in an historic sea-battle, for he was a midshipman on the *Bellerophon* when Lord Howe defeated the French fleet in the English Channel on the 'glorious first of June' of 1794. Later in the same year Flinders sailed on board the *Reliance* to New South Wales with its second governor, Captain Hunter. He then formed a memorable friendship with another young man, Bass, the ship's surgeon. After reaching Port Jackson the pair hired a dinghy 8 ft. long, and with a crew of one boy explored and reported on many miles of coast and some new rivers north and south of the great harbour.

In 1797 Bass performed a famous feat in an open whale-boat begged from Governor Hunter. With only six sailors, volunteers, and six weeks' provisions on board, he explored

six hundred miles of coast in the course of an eleven weeks' voyage. After rounding Cape Howe, where Cook first sighted Australia, he passed through Bass Strait as far as Western Port close to Port Phillip (now Melbourne), and so proved that Tasmania, then known as Van Dieman's Land, was an island and not a continental promontory.

Soon after this Bass went trading in a small ship of his own to South America, to bring sorely needed salt meat and cattle to the young settlement. His ship was captured by the Spaniards and he is believed to have died a prisoner in the Spanish American mines.

In 1798 Flinders, by sailing round Van Dieman's Land in a sloop, supplemented the information obtained by Bass the year before. He then returned to England but came out to Australia again in command of the *Investigator* with instructions to survey as much of the Australian coast as remained uncharted. He surveyed the whole south coast from Cape Leeuwin to Port Phillip, sprinkling it with Lincolnshire names, for he was bred in that county. Thence he sailed to Port Jackson and round Cape York into the Gulf of Carpentaria, which he surveyed thoroughly. This completed his useful work, for a leaking ship forced him to return to Port Jackson.

Like his friend Bass, he was fated to exchange the open seas he loved for a foreign prison. When he left England in the *Investigator*, Napoleon, though our enemy, had granted him a passport guaranteeing his ship from capture because of her peaceful scientific errand, and even promising it help in French ports if needed. On his way home in a small leaky schooner, Flinders, unwisely relying on this passport, put into Mauritius for repairs. Because the passport referred only to the *Investigator* which he no longer commanded, the French governor disregarded it and kept him for seven years in captivity. After returning to England with broken health Flinders only lived for three more years, which he spent in writing the history of his voyages.

Friction between the early Governors and the New South Wales Corps. We have briefly noticed the three most important points connected with this period, confinement to the coast, shortage of food, and the discoveries of Bass and Flinders. Constant friction between the naval governors and the military authorities was another less honourable feature of the period. The British Army, then winning imperishable laurels on the continent of Europe, was unworthily represented in Australia by the New South Wales Corps, which had been specially enlisted to keep the convicts in order. Its officers had abandoned for this inferior service all hope of winning reputation in their profession, and many of them had joined the corps in order to enrich themselves by trading. During a period of two years between Governor Phillip's departure and his successor's arrival the commandant of this corps unfortunately acted as governor and allowed his officers not only to occupy the best land, but to buy up all the provisions and rum, and sell them at exorbitant prices. Later governors who tried to check such practices met continual opposition from the corps. These dissensions reached a climax under the last naval governor, Bligh, whose cruelty to his crew had caused not many years before the famous mutiny of the *Bounty*. Governor Bligh did at any rate one good thing in Australia by attempting, like his predecessors, to check the trading monopoly of the New South Wales Corps. But two years of his tactless and domineering methods made the best of the colonists join the powerful corps in opposing him. The free colonists especially resented his raising convicts to high positions in the colony. His crowning folly was to arrest on a trivial charge the leading colonist, Macarthur, who was the first man to import the long-wooled merino sheep and so founded Australia's greatest industry. On his arrest in 1808 Major Johnson of the New South Wales Corps carried out a small revolution by arresting and deposing the governor and administering the colony in his place. The home authorities

were so pre-occupied by other affairs that for two years they actually allowed this extraordinary state of things to continue. At last they sent out the first of the military governors, Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, to restore legal authority and send home both Johnson and Bligh for trial and inquiry.

So ended the first period of Australian history, for Governor Macquarie's arrival marked in many ways the beginning of a new era; the New South Wales Corps was happily soon disbanded and replaced by a regular regiment; only three years later the barrier of the Blue Mountains was at last broken down; and the year 1815 saw the end of the great Napoleonic War which had done so much to starve the colony of necessary supplies, attention, and public servants.

Second Period from 1810-50. The leading features of this period are: (1) Exploration and settlement of the interior; (2) Difficulties with natives; (3) successful agitation against transportation; and (4) the gradual preparation for responsible government and separation (i. e. the separation from New South Wales of the colonies of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania).

Exploration and Settlement of the Interior. The crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813 by Blaxland, a farmer, Wentworth, a youth of eighteen who afterwards became famous as a colonial statesman, and a Lieutenant Lawson, is perhaps the most momentous event in Australian history. The party succeeded in hacking their way through thick bush across the mountains by keeping always on the top of one ridge, a narrow water parting, the precipitous gorges on both sides of which had baffled their predecessors. Fertile valleys were found beyond watered by two fine rivers flowing inland, which were named the Lachlan and Macquarie after the governor. This governor was the right man to deal with the opportunity. He has been laughed at for the number of times his familiar names appear on the map, and for the

number of unnecessarily expensive public buildings by which he sought to perpetuate it ; Dr. Lang speaks of his ‘ rabid desire for immortality ’, but he had a nobler passion for road building, the most useful hobby a governor could have in a new country. With unlimited convict labour at his disposal he completed in six months a rough but well-engineered road along Blaxland’s tracks, and near its one-hundredth mile founded the inland township of Bathurst. The road is still there and a railway now runs close to it. A great stream of farmers and stock began to flow westward along this road. More and more good land was explored and settled so that, in a dispatch written in 1822 at the close of his governorship, Macquarie was able to boast that in the last eleven years the population of New South Wales had risen from eleven thousand odd to over thirty-eight thousand, the number of cattle from twenty-five thousand to two hundred and ninety thousand, and the acreage of cultivated land from seven thousand to thirty-two thousand. Such were the wonderful results, after only eleven years, of Blaxland’s discovery and Macquarie’s mountain road.

The full exploration of the Darling, Murray, and Murrumbidgee basins was completed by 1835, by the work of Evans, Oxley, Hume, Cunningham, Sturt, and Mitchell. The rivers Lachlan and Macquarie, which started close together and flowed away from the sea, supplied a riddle unsolved for sixteen years. Oxley and others found that these fine rivers, which were expected to lead to the west coast, or some great inland sea, soon deteriorated into swamps impassable by either boats or horses. ‘ The interior of this vast country ’, reported Oxley, ‘ is a marsh and uninhabitable.’ It was not till a terrible series of droughts in 1827–8 turned vast stretches of swamps into dry plains, that Sturt succeeded in tracing the Macquarie’s course to the Darling. His next and most famous journey was in 1830 down the Murrumbidgee (long before discovered ‘ unofficially ’ by settlers, hence its native name), and the Murray (discovered

by Hume in 1824 during a famous journey of exploration overland to Port Philip), to the Darling and its outlet in Encounter Bay, a miserable outlet consisting of a salt lake connected with the sea only by trickling channels. Disappointed of sailing out of the river's mouth, Sturt's party thus missed the ship waiting for them in the Bay and had to return with infinite labour along their whole course upstream, threatened all the time by death from exhaustion, starvation, or hostile 'black fellows'. This expedition only cost about £200 and only lasted six weeks, but it finally settled the puzzling riddle of the main Australian water-system.

The regions best known in 1831 have been well compared to a spider, its body the Sydney or Jackson Bay settlement sending out four thin legs, northwards to the Liverpool plains, north-west along the Macquarie, westwards along the Lachlan, Murray, and Darling, and south-west along Hume's tracks across the Murray and Murrumbidgee to Port Phillip. During the years 1835 and 1836 Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, succeeded in linking together most of these scattered tracks. He connected the Lachlan with the Murrumbidgee and Murray, traced the Upper Darling's course to its junction with the Murray, and discovered between the Murray and the sea some of the best farming land in Victoria, the Wimera district which he compared to the Garden of Eden and named Australia Felix. His work resulted in greatly extended settlement, but with it ended the period of dramatically successful and fruitful discoveries. Later exploration proved severe, dangerous, and often ill-fated. It can only be briefly summarized here. The explorations of Sturt (1834 and 1845), and Eyre (1841) disclosed a barrier of waterless desert to the north and south of the settled country. Leichhard (1843-5) explored Cape Carpentaria and lost his life and his expedition in the desert while attempting to cross the continent from Moreton Bay to the west coast. Burke and Wills in 1860-1 succeeded in reaching the north coast from Victoria, but died on the

return journey. A year later Stuart reached the north coast from South Australia, and returned safely.

Though these later Australian explorers found little in the interior but desert or poor grass only fit for pasturage, it should be noticed that the sinking of hundreds of deep artesian wells all over the central plains have recently rendered agriculture possible over great areas which receive little or no rainfall. So even the least fruitful period of inland exploration has eventually resulted in human settlement.

Difficulties with Natives. Australian explorers were in constant danger from the 'black fellows'. Though Mitchell moved about with a small army as escort and fought several skirmishes, Stuart never fired a shot and succeeded by conciliation and kindness. Many of the early settlers and their cattle died by the spears of natives who naturally resented the disturbance of their kangaroo-hunting grounds. Though the Maoris of New Zealand were later a serious menace, only ended in 1868 after a succession of regular wars, the Australian natives were never really formidable, for they were always few in number, badly armed, and incapable of organized hostilities. Unfortunately they proved equally incapable of regular work, and were only employed occasionally by settlers as trackers and herdsmen. Though on the whole they have met with fair treatment from settlers, and though Christian missionaries have tried to fit them for modern conditions of life, their numbers have gradually dwindled till very few exist to-day.¹

In the early days they unfortunately came into frequent collision with an inferior class of white men, the 'emancipated' convicts, and others who had escaped from captivity. Such collisions had especially unfortunate results in Tasmania where a branch settlement for the worst class of convicts was founded in 1804 and the natives were more warlike than on the mainland. The sad story of the unnecessary

¹ The number of Australian natives has, however, slightly increased in recent years.

blotting out of all the Tasmanian natives between the years 1804 and 1876, one man's life-time, is a contrast to England's treatment of uncivilized natives elsewhere, and the most striking example of the evil consequences of collision between savages and the wrong kind of white men. The trouble in Tasmania can be traced to a famine in 1806, during which it was thought necessary to release temporarily many desperate criminals armed with guns to live as they could by shooting kangaroos. No necessity can justify such action if judged by its consequences. The small native camps were helpless before these ruffians, who treated natives as no better than animals. The natives, a spirited though simple race, naturally replied to outrage by outrage. Even after the convicts had returned to restraint, and those of them who had become bush-rangers (or dacoits) were all hunted down, the race-war continued, for the English officials could not get into communication with the blacks who had become shy, cunning, and well-organized under capable leaders. During 1830 and 1831 hardly a day passed without some native outrage in Tasmania, the yearly tale of murders by natives rose to hundreds, whole families on outlying farms were frequently wiped out. Peaceful settlers everywhere paid dearly for the sins of their predecessors. Under Governor Arthur in 1830 an unsuccessful attempt was made to drive all natives into a corner of the island, but eventually the remaining natives, surprisingly few in number, were induced to surrender by one Robinson 'the Conciliator' who had succeeded in mastering their language. Those who surrendered were mostly women, for their men had been killed, and children had not been reared for many years owing to their constant wanderings. This wretched remnant were deported to Flinders Island in Bass Straits, in sight of the mainland, where they rapidly died of rheumatism, consumption, and drink, and another 'disease of the stomach', to quote the doctor in charge of the settlement, 'which comes on entirely from a desire to return to their

own country'. The last man died in 1869, the last old woman in 1876. So ended perhaps the saddest and blackest story in our Empire's history, a terrible example of the far-reaching influence of a great war, for the Napoleonic War caused the famine in 1806, from which the long tale of trouble began in distant Tasmania.

Successful Anti-transportation Movement. Governor Macquarie met with fierce opposition from his officials and leading colonists owing to his 'emancipist' policy. The liberated convicts were called 'emancipists', and Macquarie intended them to become the foundation of Australia's future population. Like Bligh he raised some of them to high offices, and offended free colonists by inviting them to meet emancipists at dinner. Anti-emancipist agitation soon developed into a strong movement against the importation of any more convicts. Dr. Lang, the historian and the first Presbyterian minister of New South Wales, worked strenuously both in England and the colony to encourage free immigration, and to get transportation stopped. The movement against transportation and for free immigration is the absorbing interest in his book from which one may gather how vital a matter this was to the better class of settlers. Thanks to their representations the transportation of convicts to New South Wales was stopped in 1840, to Queensland in 1849, to Tasmania in 1853, to West Australia in 1867. The fact that the Australian colonists successfully claimed from so early a date the right to exclude undesirable immigrants explains to some extent their descendants' determination to prevent the immigration of Asiatics and others whom they consider undesirable (see p. 107 of this chapter, also Chapter VIII, p. 185).

Preparation for Responsible Government and Separation. The early Governors of New South Wales were absolute within the colony, and had not even councils to advise them. Governor Macquarie wrote home in 1813, 'I feel great satisfaction at the determination of His Majesty's Govern-

ment in not acceding to the recommendation of the select committee of the House of Commons in regard to the Governor of the Colony being assisted by a Council. I indulge a fond hope that this measure will never be resorted to in this colony'. A council was, however, nominated by the Crown to advise his successor, Governor Brisbane. Further advance towards self-government was long delayed in Australia. Not till 1842, fifty-two years after the establishment of the colony, did New South Wales receive Representative Government (see Chapter IV, p. 40) under the Constitution Act of 1842; its new legislature consisted of a single chamber of thirty-six members, of whom twenty-four were elected by the people and the rest nominated by the Crown; the executive was still appointed by the Crown. The better class colonists led by Wentworth (who had crossed the Blue Mountains with Blaxland) had long demanded a Legislative Assembly; and in 1840 the increase of free immigration, and the abolition of transportation in New South Wales were strong arguments in favour of Parliamentary Government. Its long delay and the restrictions of the first constitution (under which twelve members were still nominated), were probably necessary owing to the colony's convict origin. No one has ever claimed the right of self-government for children, paupers, illiterates, lunatics, or criminals. This axiom is illustrated by the case of New South Wales where the convict population was so numerous that a growing demand for a Legislative Assembly had to be denied for many years, even at a time when opinion in England was greatly in favour of colonial independence.

The following passage from Dr. Lang's history reflects the natural pride of the colonists in their first Parliament of which he was a member; his exaggerations may be excused by the importance of the occasion. 'As a General Election and a partially Representative Assembly were new things under the sun in Australia . . . the interest excited in all

quarters was intense, and the result by no means unsatisfactory. Indeed, for general ability, for extent and variety of information available for the business of legislation, for manly eloquence, for genuine patriotism, and for energetic and dignified action, I question whether the first Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, under the constitution of 1842, has ever been surpassed by any legislature out of England in the British Empire.'

Port Phillip (Victoria) elected a quarter of the members of this distinguished chamber, but was far from sharing the satisfaction of New South Wales with regard to it. Business men from Port Phillip could not spare the time for the journey to Sydney, so Sydney men had to be elected to represent them. Port Phillip soon began to ask the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, for separation; when he forgot their demands they elected *him* as their representative, as a hint that a member in London was just as much good to them as one in Sydney. The success of their agitation fortunately coincided with a sudden and unexpected increase in the population and wealth of Victoria which must next be considered.

Third Period, 1850-1901. Separation and Responsible Government. The discovery of gold, the coming of Responsible Government and separation, and the steady growth of Democracy are the special features of this period (1850-1901). Its first ten years were full of crowded events, the remainder outwardly uneventful. The British Government suddenly decided to throw the reins on the necks of the Australian colonies and leave them to control their own destinies. An act of the Imperial Parliament in 1850 separated New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, and required these four colonies to draw up their own Constitutions (systems of government), and submit them to the British Government; in 1851 the four colonies began this work; they drafted constitutions which in general resembled one another, England accepted them and in

1856 all settled down to manage their own affairs under Responsible Government (see Chapter IV, p. 40). Their legislatures all consisted of two houses, known as the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council, and their executives consisted of ministers representing the majority in their Legislative Assemblies. The Legislative Councils were variously constituted, but all the Legislative Assemblies were elected by voters with a small property qualification, much smaller than that required for voters in the first New South Wales election of 1842.

Queensland, the Moreton Bay district north of New South Wales, was not separated till 1859, when it received a similar constitution. The popular character of all the Australian constitutions was mainly due to the discovery of gold in 1850-1, which attracted thousands of free settlers, whose presence and influence checked the power of the great landowners, known as the 'squatter aristocracy'. In New South Wales, thanks to a nominated Legislative Council, a feature peculiar to that colony's new constitution, the squatters retained much of their old influence. The government of the other colonies was from the first and has continued to be of a very democratic nature.

The year 1851 is a landmark in Australian history. In that year the different colonies began to draw up their separate constitutions, and gold was discovered in New South Wales; in Queensland it was discovered only a year later.

The 'gold rushes' and their results. There had been similar discoveries and a 'gold rush' three years earlier in California, where a digger called Hargraves from New South Wales noticed the resemblance between the gold-producing gullies of California and those of the Upper Macquarie and its tributaries. He returned there and found gold in large quantities. In a few months Bathurst became a great mining centre, and all the neighbouring gullies were full of diggers. Victoria offered a reward for the discovery of gold

in her territory, and the rich gold-fields of Ballarat and Bendigo were soon opened and attracting thousands of immigrants from Europe and America, many of whom made immense fortunes in a few days. Farming was for a time sadly neglected, provisions rose to fearful prices, and a number of turbulent foreign immigrants threatened the peace of the country. 1848 had been a year of revolutions, generally unsuccessful, against European Governments in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia. Many of the immigrants were political refugees from these countries, and ready to quarrel with any form of Government. The more experienced administration of New South Wales had a smaller gold rush to handle and were never in difficulties from it. The newly constituted Victorian Government made a serious mistake in forcing all diggers, whether they were successful or not, to pay thirty shillings monthly for their licenses. It would have been wiser to tax all gold won in the colony or exported from it. Matters reached a climax in Ballarat (Victoria), where foreign agitators persuaded the malcontents to proclaim an independent 'Republic of Victoria', and to fortify the 'Eureka Stockade', which was easily stormed by a small force of soldiers. This burst the 'revolution' bubble, for the sensible diggers disapproved of rebellion and refused to join what was really a foreign movement against an Australian Government. Constitutional agitation, more suited to an English colony, secured amendment of the irksome mining laws, and the working of Responsible Government gradually completed the cure. When gold-mining changed by degrees from a gamble to a settled industry, as it always has done, many turbulent spirits left the country, and the miners became a public-spirited, law-abiding body of citizens.

The outbreak of bush-ranging (dacoity) after 1850 in New South Wales and Victoria was of course an indirect result of the gold-rush, though it was also connected with the absence of educational and religious advantages, and of

proper police control in remote districts. The outbreak has attracted much attention owing to the desperate daring of the bush-rangers, and the number of stories and songs written about them, but it was only a temporary phase in Australian history, for the last bush-rangers were 'rounded up' by 1880.

Farming soon recovered after the first gold-rush and benefited greatly by the good markets provided by the gold-fields; thus South Australia and Tasmania (practically deserted during the gold-rush of 1850), had in the end their share of the increased prosperity.

To sum up the results of the gold-rush in Australia, it proved in the end far less upsetting to civilized order than that of California, and on the whole was of enormous benefit to the colony by bringing in capital and a large free immigrant population at the time when they were most needed. The latest Australian gold discoveries were made in 1885 and 1886 at Kalgoorlie and other places in Western Australia; there, too, the gold-fields proved a blessing, for they brought many free settlers, and provided new markets for farm produce to a colony with few natural advantages. Thanks to the progress resulting from its new industry Western Australia was ready for Representative Government in 1868, and for Responsible Government in 1890.

The Growth of Democracy and State Control (the latter a result of Australia's convict origin). During the last forty years of this period the different colonies settled down, with little interference from England, to the management of their own affairs. Immigration, land laws, education, taxation, and means of communication were the chief problems confronting them. The early Government of New South Wales had only encouraged free settlers with considerable capital, who obtained from the authorities convict labour and large grants of land for pasturage. The democratic colonial governments after 1850 did everything possible to encourage humbler immigrants, and to provide

those of them who could not earn their living in towns as craftsmen with small farms which could only be made to pay by close and careful cultivation. In every Australian colony (as well as in New Zealand and Natal) it has been found desirable, as population increased, to increase the food supply by breaking up many of the large squatters' 'runs', which were best suited to agriculture. This was usually done by requiring the original owners, if unwilling or unable to cultivate a fair proportion of their estates, to sell them at a liberal price to the State, which then cut them up into smaller farms to be resold to agriculturalists. This change was generally accomplished in Australia to the satisfaction of all parties, and greatly increased the produce of the land, and the population it supported.

Such interference by Government with individual rights was, until the Great War, unheard of in England, but it seemed quite natural in Australia. There, as in India, the State has always been expected to control the conditions of life far more closely than in England. Every one looked to Government for help. The Australian Government, like the Government of India, has provided schools, built roads, railways, and bridges, distributed seed, organized relief during famine or drought, encouraged and controlled manufactures, and seen to a host of other matters, which in England depend on private enterprise or local boards and councils. The liberty of the individual is in Australia subordinated to the interests of the community to an extent which makes life there uncomfortable to people born and bred under English conditions. This state of things under a democratic Government is known as Socialism, and Australia has become the most Socialistic country in the world except New Zealand.

It is difficult to understand how this came about. How is it that, though England long believed firmly in 'natural' development, and carefully avoided artificial interference with men's lives and trade, the Australian Governments, as soon as they were free, took to protective tariffs, labour

regulations, exclusion of 'undesirable' immigrants, and a host of other artificial restrictions ?

The puzzle may be partly explained by Australia's convict origin. At first, because the free settlers were few, people looked to the Government for everything, even their food (see p. 89). The Governors provided the settlers with convict labour, and bought what they produced. Government was responsible for nearly all the geographical exploration so vital for the life and growth of the community ; Government built roads and schools, and gradually, as we have indicated above, took control of one thing after another, and kept it even after the colonies had emerged from the convict state. The development of Australian socialism, though many nobler causes must have contributed to it, seems the chief permanent result, though an indirect one, of 'convictism', the hereditary influence of which on the character of the people has been absurdly exaggerated, especially by sensational novelists. The total number of convicts transported to Australia did not much exceed 80,000, about 40,000 less than the number sent to America before the War of Independence ; transportation stopped so soon, and the number of free settlers after 1850 was so overwhelming that the original convicts can have left only a very small hereditary trace, if any, on the population of Australia to-day.

Railways. From 1875 onwards the Australian Governments proceeded with railway construction, often in spite of financial loss, at a rapid rate which could never have been attained if railway construction had been left to private companies as in England. The country benefited greatly, and the isolation of the different colonies was to a great extent broken down. As their mutual ignorance and jealousy disappeared their federation in one Commonwealth became possible in 1901.

Fourth Period, 1901-14. Federation. *The Australian Commonwealth.* Federation did not come any more easily in Australia than in Canada or South Africa, for it always

demands the spirit of compromise and much unselfish sacrifice of local and individual interests to the common weal. Besides distance there were other strong forces against federation in Australia; the different origins of the six colonies; their different stages of development and wealth; the openly expressed pride of Victoria and South Australia in their free (non-convict) origin; the rise in each colony of a 'labour party' determined to improve the working man's condition by legislation, and mistrustful of the attitude of any Federal Government to their schemes; and above all the congestion of about a third of the total population of Australia in the four rival and widely separated seaports of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane.

On the other hand in favour of federation there was Canada's example, repeated suggestions from the Home Government, the growing need of a common policy as to immigration, and, above all, the need of organizing military and naval defence. Australia's happy isolation had long been breaking down; French and German traders were found everywhere in the surrounding islands. France occupied Tahiti in 1843 and New Caledonia in 1853, Germany occupied part of New Guinea in 1883, and besides acquired protectorates, trade, and influence in the surrounding islands. Pressure from outside gradually broke down the strong local objections to federation in the different states. Federation became an accomplished fact in 1901, in the middle of the South African War to which all the states had voluntarily sent contingents when it came as a warning to all parts of the Empire of the need for co-operation and unity.

In 1901 Australia was still too isolated, the threat of war and invasion too remote for her colonies to surrender their independence as completely as did the Canadian provinces in 1867, or the four South African colonies in 1910. The Commonwealth of Australia is, therefore, a loose confederation of states, still almost as jealous of their separate rights

as were the United States of America before the Civil War. The problem of Australian unification is not, therefore, completely solved, and will probably require further consideration from her statesmen, especially since the Great War has finally broken down her geographical isolation, and shown her, with unexpected suddenness, the advantages under modern conditions of a strong and efficient central government.

The Question of Asiatic Immigration. Australia's magnificent service in the Great War, by far the most stirring event in her otherwise peaceful history, is outside the scope of this chapter; but a little must still be said about the chief problem of the period from 1901-14, the problem of Asiatic immigration. It arose from two claims both apparently reasonable, but irreconcilable; the claim of the Australians to exclude from their country people of different ideas and customs from their own; and the claim of Asiatics starving in over-crowded areas to settle in a vast continent inhabited only by a sprinkling of Europeans who show no signs of rapid increase and tend to congregate in a few towns instead of using vacant land.¹

Asiatic citizens of the Empire have also claimed as their right free entry to any country within the Empire, a claim which can hardly be recognized by the British Empire if it interferes with the right of colonial governments to control their own destiny, a right which, ever since Lord Durham's report, the Empire has aimed at granting to all its members as soon as they become fit for it. This very difficult question

¹ The people of nearly every democracy have tended to congregate, preferring a city life to the country. In non-democratic India only 9·5 per cent. of the population live in towns, but of the population of Canada 44 per cent. and of that of New Zealand 51 per cent. do so, and of Australia's population 56 per cent. live in towns, and 38 per cent. live in her six chief cities. This tendency of Australia's European population has checked its increase, and retarded the development of the country. Industrial development will sufficiently account for it in most countries, but not in Australia. It is often used as an argument against the exclusion of Asiatics.

will be further discussed in Chapter VIII on South Africa, where it became still more acute during the same period (see p. 185). However we may notice here, because it is not usually understood outside Australia, the root of the objection which thoughtful Australians show to unrestricted Asiatic immigration. It would, they point out, by lowering wages, destroy the fruit of all their past social experiments, and once for all prevent Australia from reaching the object of her social legislation, i. e. a community of which every member is an educated person, with a fair amount of work, a fair amount of leisure, and a fair wage sufficient for comfortable existence and the rational pleasures which education teaches a man to expect and enjoy. This is a noble ideal and, in struggling towards it, Australia deserves the sympathy of the civilized world, which has watched with interest her experiments in controlling railways, landownership, labour and wages, in introducing protective tariffs and giving votes to women.

Australia does not believe in allowing too much liberty to individuals, and tries to avoid the example of America, where excessive liberty threatens to subordinate the whole community to a few millionaires, its richest and cleverest members. Such men have been the pride and glory of the United States, but the Australians think less of private success than of public service. They may or may not be right. Their experiments, if continued after the war, may prove that too many laws cramp and destroy human happiness even more than unrestricted business competition has done in the past ; on the other hand Australia's experiments may prove so successful that the rest of the Empire, and perhaps the whole world, will imitate them. In either case Australia will have deserved the thanks of civilization.

This chapter has shown how, thanks to her geographical isolation, her convict origin, and her 'gold rushes', the three great moulding influences of Australian history, circumstances have specially favoured Australia in making

those socialistic experiments which are, for good or ill, her most striking feature to-day. It is easy to understand why Australians are suspicious of anything which threatens to interfere with them.

Books recommended for further study.

Australasia. Vol. VI of Sir Charles Lucas's Historical Geography of the Dominions. Clarendon Press.

The New World of the South. Fitchett. Smith Elder & Co.

The British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. Book II, Chapter II.

History of the Australasian Colonies. Jenks. Cambridge Press.

Captain Cook. Sir Walter Besant. Macmillan.

A Short History of Australia. Scott. Oxford University Press.

A Historical and Statistical account of New South Wales. Lang. (1834) Sampson Low.

Australian History Source Book. Swinburne. Bell.

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. Why was the crossing of the Blue Mountains so long delayed? Mention some of its results.

2. Make a sketch-map illustrating Cook's and Flinders's voyages round the Australian coast.

3. Trace some of the consequences of the Napoleonic Wars on Australian History.

4. Why is Governor Macquarie's name famous in Australia?

5. Compare Australian Colonization 1800-50, with American Colonization 1600-50.

6. Explain the anti-transportation agitation in Australia and trace some of its results.

7. Trace some of the most permanent results of (a) Australia's convict origin, (b) her gold discoveries.

8. Compare the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth with that of the Dominion of Canada.

9. Why was the idea of federation unpopular for a long time in Australia, and how did it come to be accepted?

10. Explain the Australian objection to Asiatic immigration, and mention some arguments for admitting Asiatics to Australia.

CHAPTER VII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

PART I. GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OUR Indian Empire consists of five geographical regions, whose physical features have largely determined historical events.

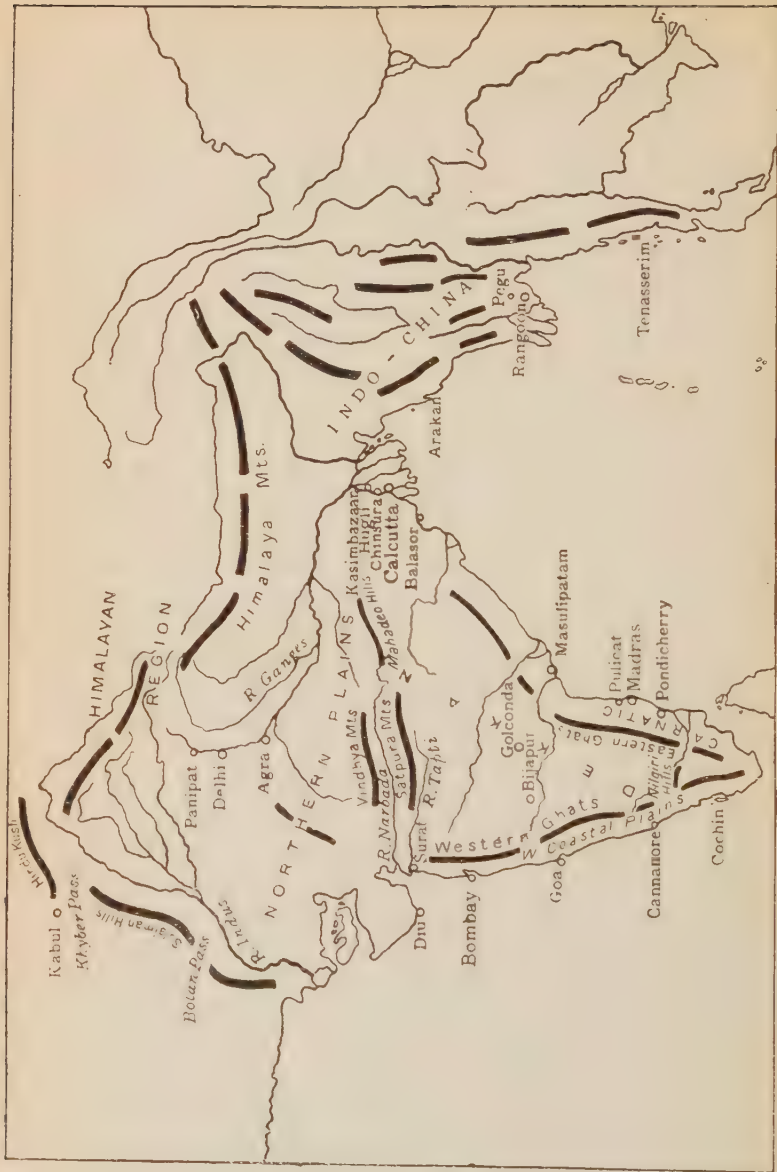
1. *The Himalayan Region.* The Himalayan region, India's northern boundary, is formed of a number of parallel ranges 1,500 miles long and covering a tract 150 to 200 miles broad. These mountains, the Sulaimans, Hindu-Kush, and Himalayas 'have made Hindustan, water Hindustan, shelter and protect Hindustan'. Their protection, however, has often proved ineffective owing to the existence of the Bolan, Khyber, and other passes in the north-west, through which warlike tribes from the north periodically swooped down into the plains of northern India to possess them until the next invaders came. So history repeated itself for hundreds of years till the period of British rule. Our secure hold of the passes has often been challenged but never successfully.

2. *The Indo-Gangetic Plain.* The Northern Plains, 500 to 300 miles wide, stretch almost continuously for 1,500 miles from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Ganges. The rich natural resources of these plains have supported many mighty empires. The watershed between the two great rivers is crossed by a low pass near which lie Delhi and Panipat. Thus nature made Delhi the queen of the northern plains and Panipat the historic battle-field of India. The northern plains contain India's most fertile lands, and her most ancient and famous cities and monuments. The lower course of the Indus flows through a desert area, that of the Ganges through well-watered Bengal, which rose to new

importance after the age of discovery as the richest market in India which was readily accessible by sea.

3. *The Deccan.* The Deccan Plateau is separated from the northern plains by the Vindhya, Satpura, and Mahadeo hills, and by the Narbada and Tapti rivers which flow between them. These central highlands long provided a rough line of division between the Aryans who came from the north, and the earlier native inhabitants (Dravidians). None of the Asiatic land empires which ruled in turn at Delhi or Agra ever succeeded in permanently extending its dominion over the Deccan. The last and greatest of these, the Moghul empire, was ruined by the attempt, and so made way for our maritime empire. The Deccan forms a triangle 1,000 miles wide at its northern base, narrowing down to its point at the Nilgiris 800 miles to the south. It is dry in the interior, and subject to famine. On its two sides are the steep Western Ghats, and the low Eastern Ghats with more gradual slopes. The Western Ghats were the home of the Mahrattas, who successfully defied the Moghuls, terrorized the peaceful inhabitants of India for two hundred years, and were only crushed by the British after three severe wars. Over one hundred of their forts can still be seen on these hills.

4. *The Coastal Plains.* Between the Ghats and the sea lie the Coastal Plains, fertile, well-watered and populous. They contain many ancient towns, once ruled by the petty zamorins and rajahs, with whom Europeans first traded. On the west the coastal plain is narrow and separated by the steep ghats from the interior. Hence the importance of the Carnatic, the broad rich plain between the lower Eastern Ghats and the sea, where the English and French fought for the mastery of India. The Carnatic and lower Bengal were as surely destined by nature to be the battlefield of rival maritime powers, as Panipat had been for older land empires. India, owing to her triangular form, has a short coast-line in proportion to the extent of her boundaries,



population, and resources; moreover the whole Indian coast is surrounded by a continental shelf and shallow seas; and the Indian rivers deposit so much silt that they make poor harbours. Hence the keen rivalry between Europeans for the use of the few harbours available.

5. *Burma.* The eastern Himalayas turn into parallel mountain ranges (known in Burma as yomas), running from north to south. These ranges, with the Irrawaddy, Sittang, Salween, Menam, and Mekong valleys between them, form Indo-China, a region containing a bewildering variety of races and languages, the natural consequence of its mountain system.

The Irrawaddy has the broadest and most fertile valley and the richest delta of all the Indo-Chinese rivers, and has provided a geographical region sufficiently distinct and extensive for the development of a unified nation. Hence modern British Burma is geographically, racially, and linguistically more of a unit than any other Indian province,¹ and has its own national characteristics and aspirations quite distinct from those of modern India.

It contains, besides the Tenasserim and Arakan coast strips, the Irrawaddy valley, the smaller Sittang valley, and part of the narrow Salween valley running parallel to one another. Had the Burmese kings been content with the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys and the Tenasserim coast they might have ruled over strong compact kingdoms. But the ablest and strongest Burmese kings wasted their resources on expeditions over the mountains to Arakan or Siam. Siam was never permanently conquered, though

¹ It is true that the last census report shows that between sixty and seventy indigenous languages are spoken in British Burma, but all but three or four of these languages are spoken only by obscure and numerically weak mountain tribes, who are usually bi-lingual and often know Burmese or are beginning to learn it. Burmese, or Arakanese, a dialect of it, is universally used throughout British Burma, except in Rangoon, a cosmopolitan seaport, and in the mountain regions (of which the Shan States are the most important); even among the hill tribes the knowledge of Burmese is steadily spreading.

Araken, in spite of the yomas, was for long periods under Burmese rule.

Our three Burmese wars were forced on us by the arrogance of three Burmese kings who were yet too weak to offer us any serious resistance. Their arrogance was the arrogance of ignorance, the result of their geographical isolation : their weakness resulted from the intersection of their country by mountains which had prevented them and their predecessors from permanently extending or securely consolidating their dominions.

We further isolated and weakened the Burmese Empire in 1852 by annexing Rangoon, its natural sea-port, and Pegu, its maritime province (see p. 141). The last Burmese king would never have lost his throne but for his amazing ignorance of the world which can only be explained by his geographical isolation which had been artificially increased by our annexations.

These Burmese wars provided an expensive lesson in geography to the Government of India which knew little of this region. Complaints are still sometimes heard from Burma that owing to its geographical isolation it is too little known by the Indian Government which controls its destinies from Simla.

PART II. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Great Moghuls. We have noticed the wonderful achievements during the sixteenth century of the Portuguese in India. They were fortunate in the date of Vasco da Gama's arrival ; for in 1498 there was no strong power in Southern India, a feeble Afghan Empire in Northern India was dwindling to decay, so the Portuguese had not only a free hand in dealing with the petty coast rajahs, but also apparently a good prospect of pushing their influence inland. The chief reason for their failure to do so was the appearance of the last and greatest Asiatic Indian Empire, an empire so mighty that for long years no European power

dared to oppose it. So it happened that the Portuguese, though they held the seas, soon found themselves, as one of their leaders wrote to his king in 1549, 'perishing without lands out of which to support ourselves or find shelter.'

As modern English history began during the sixteenth century with the Tudors, so modern Indian history began



THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

about the same time with the Moghuls. Though it is a pity to treat hurriedly so noble a theme, the story of the Moghuls is so closely bound up with that of the British in India that it must be briefly summarized here.

Timur of Samarkand was the first Moghul to march to Delhi (1398); he contented himself with sacking it and marching home. His descendant *Babar*, originally Khan of a small part of Turkistan but later King of Kabul,

followed in his steps over one hundred years later, fought the first battle of Panipat in 1526 against Sultan Ibrahim, defeated a number of Rajput (Hindu) Rajas and became the first Moghul Emperor of northern India. His son *Humayun* lost the empire to an Afghan chief but recovered it later. His son *Akbar*, Queen Elizabeth of England's contemporary and the greatest of the Moghuls, reigned for nearly fifty years from 1556 to 1605. After fighting the second battle of Panipat against a Hindu rival, and after a brilliant career of conquest and annexation, he ruled over all India except the Deccan. He conciliated the Hindus by marrying Rajput princesses and by abolishing a poll-tax on infidels (non-Mohammedans). He greatly improved the internal administration of the empire, especially the system of taxation; he was, like Babar, a sportsman, a scholar, and a gentleman, and also a philosophical thinker far in advance of his age, who encouraged the freest religious discussion. The glory of his reign was only dimmed by the ingratitude of his sons, who rebelled against him in his old age, and fought together after his death, so setting an evil example followed by all Moghul princes at the close of every later emperor's reign. Thus even in Akbar's time began the disruption of the empire, for these unfilial rebellions drained its resources and caused general unrest. *Jehangir* (1605-27) was a broadminded man with a strong sense of humour but cruel and a drunkard. The first English suppliants for 'firmans' (orders) to trade in India attended his court at Agra. He kept on good terms with his Hindu subjects. In his time the empire seemed at the height of its glory, but his son Prince Kurrum, whom he had honoured with the title of Shah Jehan rebelled against him. *Shah Jehan* (1628-58) continued the wise policy of religious toleration and made a humane and magnificent emperor. The Moghuls were great builders in the Persian style. Shah Jehan built the Taj Mahal, the crowning glory of Moghul architecture, and imported Italian artists to enrich marble

by inlaying it with precious stones. European travellers and servants of his court (e.g. Tavernier, a French jeweller, Bernier, a French doctor, and the Venetian Manucci) have left us accounts of its magnificence. The Mahrattas became a serious menace during his reign, and he was deposed by his son Aurunzebe.

Aurunzebe (1659–1708), who was for eight years his father's jailor, and waded to the throne through the blood of his nephews and brothers, has been well described as 'an ascetic muslim saint'. He was a 'Puritan' (vide Chapter III, p. 31) in the strict sense of the word. Though a genuinely religious and conscientious man, he used any means to gain what he considered noble ends. He trusted neither his officers nor his own children. His religious intolerance lost the empire many powerful and loyal supporters; for he revived the poll-tax on infidels, and, as an orthodox Sunni, persecuted even Mohammedans of the Shiah Sect. His great mistake was the attempt to conquer the Deccan, to which he devoted the last twenty-seven years of his life. At one time his nominal dominions were immense, including (after he had conquered the Mohammedan Shiah kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda) all the Deccan north of Mysore. But his hold of his Deccan and Rajput conquests was uncertain. The Mahrattas (whose national hero Shivaji, 'the mountain rat,' Aurunzebe might easily at one time have conciliated), though apparently conquered again and again, continued to defy him. These hardy mountaineers were better soldiers than the Moghuls, for Aurunzebe's officers had grown too luxurious for real campaigning and were encumbered with unnecessary tents and baggage. During the last twenty years of his life he saw the Mahrattas become stronger yearly, and his empire gradually decaying.

Aurunzebe was the last of the 'great Moghuls', though, till the Indian Mutiny of 1858, phantom emperors kept tawdry state at Delhi.¹ After his death (1708) his sons

¹ In 1920 Aurunzebe's lineal descendant is now living, generally respected, as a pensioner of the Indian Government in Rangoon.

flew at one another's throats, and the subsequent story of the Moghuls is a weary record of intrigues, assassinations, and loss of territory. The empire fell to pieces with extraordinary rapidity in the early years of the eighteenth century. The Deccan kingdoms, as well as the Mahrattas and Bengal, soon became independent. Nadir Shah, a Persian invader, after the third battle of Panipat, sacked Delhi in 1739. Mahrattas, Pindaris, and lesser plunderers ravaged as they pleased. For fifty years and more 'Hell was let loose over India', there seemed no hope for the wretched land, for no native ruler arose strong enough to restore order and security.

Portuguese Naval Supremacy challenged and ended, 1612-22. In the seventeenth century we did not find the Portuguese very dangerous rivals. We have noted how the rise of a strong Empire in India kept them to the west, 'starved of lands.' They were handicapped also by their evil reputation, and by their crusading traditions inherited from mediaevalism (the spirit of the Middle Ages). Once our East India Company began to send ships regularly to the west coast of India, ten years sufficed for us to break the power of Portugal. The first Portuguese viceroy, Almeida's, victory over the Muslim fleet off Diu (near Surat) in 1509 had turned the Indian Ocean into a Portuguese sea; it ceased to be so after 1612, when two English ships under Captain Thomas Best defeated four great galleons and many smaller Portuguese vessels off Surat in a running fight lasting three days. One immediate result of this victory was the first firman, or formal permission to trade in Surat received from the Moghul authorities. Two years later Nicholas Downton, with four English ships signally defeated in Swally Roads, the harbour of Surat, a much larger Portuguese fleet specially prepared and sent from Goa to crush him. The power of Portugal went down in the Persian Gulf in 1622 when we took Ormuz, the Portuguese island fort which had commanded the entrance to the gulf since Albuquerque built it over one hundred years before.

The naval greatness of Portugal became a legend of the past, and her maritime enterprise degenerated into buccan-
eering. From pirate nests on islands in the Bay of Bengal Portuguese adventurers preyed on the coasts of Bengal, Arakan, and Burma. Two of them, Nicote and de Brito, even secured temporary sovereignty on the Burmese coast, but soon lost it through cruelty, rapacity, and religious intolerance. 'Golden Goa', so long famous for wealth and magnificence, became notorious before the end of the seventeenth century for sloth, immorality, and pretentious squalor. A contemporary writer tells how several Goanese gentlemen would share one silk suit, and a man to hold an umbrella over them when they took turns to walk out in it, and how noble Goanese ladies were carried a-begging in palanquins attended by servants to deliver their petitions.

Struggle with the Dutch in the East Indies. The Dutch also profited by the decadence of Portugal. Her past cruelties and present weakness gave them their opportunity in the East Indian Archipelago where they founded territorial possessions one after another on treaties with native princes desiring protection against the old oppressor. Once the Dutch were safely established on such terms at Ternate and Amboyna in the Moluccas and many other places, their scheme of aggrandisement followed a regular course so ruthlessly and inevitably that the natives in the end had gained little by exchange of masters. The Dutch East India Company's first step was to build forts, next they forbade the natives to receive embassies or make treaties with any other foreigners, then ordered them to uproot clove trees except where the Dutch trade required them, then prohibited them from leaving the country controlled by the Dutch, and then exacted forced labour and a regular tribute of slaves. By these methods the Dutch secured trade monopoly, cheap labour, and a base for their trade, being determined not to 'starve for want of lands' like the Portuguese.

The thoroughness and permanence of their success was due to the Dutch Government's strong support of their East India Company, but also to the personality of Jan Petersen Coen, governor-general of the Dutch East Indies from 1618 to 1629. With Albuquerque, Dupleix, and Clive he ranks as one of the four great European Empire builders in the East, but he impressed on the Empire he founded the cruelty of his age and the grasping commercialism of his nation.

The Dutch in the seventeenth century showed in their first settlements in North America (*vide* Chapter V, p. 57), and in the East a sound judgement or an unerring instinct for commercial and strategic values. They seized and kept hold of Amboyna and Ternate and expelled us from the neighbouring island of Pularoon, because these islands provided the most lucrative trade in cloves and nutmeg, and were easy to approach from the south-west; they successfully fought us for the command of the Straits of Sunda; they even, in 1641, drove the Portuguese out of Malacca, their ancient capital in the further East, and made the Straits of Malacca, like the Straits of Sunda, a Dutch waterway.

The Dutch bitterly resented our claiming at the beginning of the seventeenth century to share with them the control of the Straits of Sunda and the trade of the Moluccas (Amboyna, Ternate, Banda, and Pularoon). These were the two essential points at issue in the unequal struggle between the two Companies, which lasted from 1602 to 1623 and was characterized by continuous negotiations in Europe and continuous fighting in the East. The struggle was unequal in the East Indies because the English East India Company only received half-hearted support from James I, while the Dutch East India Company had the solid support of their people and Government; it was still more unequal in Europe because the Dutch representatives in the negotiations knew what they wanted, while the English knew and

cared very little about the points at issue. Thus James I made a disastrous treaty in 1619 which gave in to the Dutch on nearly every point, and ruined our East India island trade. Before long our traders were driven out of Batavia by the Dutch. Most withdrew to the Indian coast factories, though a few lingered in Bantam practically deserted by the English Government and East India Company, and under subjection to their powerful Dutch neighbours. It is true that we nominally retained under the 1619 treaty a third of the Molucca trade, but, as the Dutch were allowed an advantage over us in retaining their forts, and continued to maltreat our traders, this concession proved useless. In 1622 they finally drove us out of the Moluccas by the murder, after a so-called trial, of our remaining merchants at Amboyna (vide Chapter III, p. 27), for which, owing to the civil wars in England, we got no reparation till thirty-five years later. By that time the Dutch had obtained their object, for we had turned our attention to India and left them in sole possession of the islands. They could well have afforded to leave continental India to others. They did not do so, however, till the next century, when France acquired much of their trade, and took their place as our chief rival in India. Throughout the seventeenth century they had trading stations all round the Indian coasts, amongst others at Surat, Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Chinsura, and, after 1658, at Cochin and Cannanore which they took from the Portuguese. Between the years 1638 and 1658 they drove the Portuguese out of Ceylon, and held it till the close of the eighteenth century.

The British East India Company turned away from the Spice Islands with regret. It was slow to recognize where its destinies lay, and only force of circumstances drove it to fulfil them. India offered much less profitable trade than the Spice Islands, and, owing to the haughtiness and exactions of the Moghul port authorities, little security to traders. Even when our India trade had started it was long regarded

as subsidiary to that with ports in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The British at Surat. As early as 1608 the *Hector*, one of the four ships which made the East India Company's third voyage, paid a flying visit to Surât, which during the next fifty years played an important part in the company's annals. The geographical position of Surat, just north of the Western Ghats, and with easy access to the interior by the valleys of the Narbada and the Tapti, made it the natural port for trade with the Moghul dominions. The Portuguese had long used it, and did everything they could to set the bribe-eating Moghul officials against us. The *Hector* got no trade at Surat but left William Hawkins and two other Englishmen there to outbribe the Portuguese, if possible, and to deliver a letter from James I to the Great Moghul. Elizabeth had been in the habit of providing explorers with circular letters to Eastern potentates headed 'to the Great and Mighty King of —', the blank to be filled up at each captain's discretion. James's letters of recommendation were more definite, but that supplied to Hawkins did not avail him much, for he never got the firman, or permission to trade, which he wanted. After much vexatious delay at Surat he hired his own escort of Pathans, and, after a two months' journey to Agra, personally presented the letter to the drunkard Jehangir. Jehangir took a fancy to him, kept him for nearly two years at Delhi, admitted him to his drinking bouts, gave him an Armenian wife, and many promises of personal advancement and trade, but no firman. The influence of the jealous Portuguese and the inferior quantity and quality of Hawkins's presents probably explain his failure. After high hopes of becoming himself a prince among the Moghuls, he had to swallow his disappointment and return to obscurity when at last Jehangir got tired of him. Other envoys of the Company fared even worse. The bearer of another letter from King James, after winning brief favour by the present of a mastiff

which strangled one of Jehangir's leopards, was soon after hustled out of the presence with kicks and blows for being too importunate. Even the effect of Best's and Downton's naval victories in 1612 and 1615 did not last long; the firman secured in 1613 was only a temporary permission to trade, not a binding treaty between equal powers, in fact some of its concessions were soon afterwards repudiated.

Even Sir Thomas Roe, a courtly gentleman of distinguished appearance who spent most of the years 1615 to 1618 at Jehangir's court, failed to get a permanent treaty. The Moghul appreciated presents (especially European curiosities) as much as his subordinates loved bribes, and readily made temporary concessions, but he objected to binding himself permanently. Roe had often declared that he would accept nothing short of a permanent treaty, but in spite of his firmness, dignity, and tact, and the magnificence of his presents, which included an English coach and six horses with a live English coachman, he, too, had to be content with a firman. Unfortunately he was the only specimen of a courtly Elizabethan gentleman whom we sent to the Moghul court. His visit undoubtedly increased our prestige which suffered somewhat in India throughout the seventeenth century from the meanness of our representatives; these homely merchants and seamen appeared at a disadvantage before princes and viceroys who held all traders in small esteem and had a keen eye for high birth and gentle breeding.

In 1616 Roe sent the directors in London the following sound advice which they followed carefully for seventy-two years and would have done well to follow even longer: 'A war and traffic are incompatible. . . . It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residencies and territories, that he keeps soldiers who spend it. . . . It hath been also the error of the Dutch who seek plantation here by the Sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their

dead pays consume all gains. Let this be received as a rule that, if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade.' This advice served the company well, though, once the Moghul Empire had broken up in the eighteenth century, it could no longer be followed.

Roe's firman proved useful to the company and secured certain special privileges to its agents, who settled down at Surat, free of their Portuguese rivals, and soon won favour with the Moghul authorities as regular payers of customs, and protectors of their pilgrim fleets from Portuguese pirates. Our little colony always rose in favour after Portuguese reverses, but things looked black for them whenever piracies by white men, especially Englishmen, were reported. The Moghul could not be expected to distinguish between Company and non-Company ships, and occasionally accused the Surat factory of complicity with pirates. Recent researches in the archives of the India Office have proved that these suspicions were not quite unfounded. Charles I for a time allowed a rival company, Sir William Courten's, to send ships to India, and, when at least one of these ships took to piracy, the Surat merchants were in such serious danger that they almost abandoned the factory.

The uncertainty of our position in Surat increased as the Moghul Empire weakened. While Aurunzebe was fighting for his throne in 1658, our president in Surat wrote to the Company that 'it was equally dangerous to solicit, or accept of protection, it being impossible to foresee who might ultimately be the Moghul'. Shivaji, the Mahratta, twice came plundering to Surat in 1664 and 1670, and, though he was gallantly beaten off on both occasions from the English factory, his visits increased our sense of insecurity, and led to the transfer of the Company's head-quarters to Bombay, where we could make stronger fortifications without offending the Moghuls.

Madras. On the Coromandel coast we had been estab-

lished since 1639 at Fort St. George (or Madras) which we purchased from a Hindu rajah. Earlier in the century we had factories alongside the hated Dutch at Masulipatam, the seaport of the Mohammedan king of Golconda, from whom we obtained the 'Golden Phirmaund', or permission to trade, in 1632. Fort St. George was the first land in India which we held in full sovereignty so as to be able to treat with neighbouring princes as something like their equals.

Bombay. Looking for similar security on the Malabar Coast, the Company soon began to cast longing eyes at the Portuguese island of Bombay. When in 1656 the Portuguese lost to the Dutch not only Ceylon but Cochin and Cananore in southern India, they were in despair for Goa unless they could secure an English alliance. When the Infanta (Portuguese Princess), was married to Charles II in 1661, Bombay came to him as part of her dower; before long it was handed over to the East India Company at a nominal quit-rent, and became its head-quarters on the west coast. Gerald Aungier, the first governor, did what he could to protect the struggling settlement from disease, Dutchmen, pirates, and Mahrattas. In 1673 a Dutch fleet came bent on mischief but stood out to sea at sight of his new fortifications. By good administration he attracted from the first the best class of native settlers for a mercantile town, the Hindu traders known as banians, the Armenians, and especially the Parsees, whose ancestors had come to India as refugees from Persia in the sixth century, and whose great prosperity in India dates from the founding of Bombay. Until Clive in the year 1756 had swept the seas of pirates (v. p. 132), and until Warren Hastings had checked the power of the Mahrattas in 1780, Bombay had a hard struggle which long kept her trade behind that of our settlements at Madras and on the Hugli.

Calcutta. The mouth of the Ganges, the outlet of the richest and most populous region in Asia, had long attracted our merchants but, owing to the difficulty of navigation

of the Hugli, the rapacity of the Moghul viceroys or Nawabs of Bengal, and Dutch and French competition, they secured no safe base there for trading till late in the seventeenth century. In 1632 they had had a terrible example of the danger of crossing the Moghul authorities, when the latter completely wiped out a Portuguese settlement in the Hugli, enslaving the men, and sending the women to their harems. Our first factory was at Balasor (1633), later, in 1650, we had others up the river at Hugli and Kasimbazaar, but these were simply undefended warehouses whose existence depended on the caprice of successive Moghul viceroys. The distance of the Hugli from the Moghul head-quarters at Delhi probably caused us to get worse treatment there than at Surat. In 1686 the directors of the Company became exasperated and actually made war on the Moghul with a ridiculously inadequate force. Job Charnock, a merchant who had been in India since 1656, was in command of the Company's forces, which had to abandon its factories, and defend itself against hopeless odds in a fort on the river. Fortunately Aurunzebe feared our sea power and was soon ready to make peace. The English had to pay a fine, but got back their firman, and Charnock was allowed to return and founded in 1690, beside a pool in the Hugli, Calcutta, the commercial capital of India.

Throughout the seventeenth century Roe's advice had been followed, and the Company occupied itself exclusively with trading; but the founding of Calcutta at the close of the century ended the purely trading era. In 1684 the directors wrote 'though our business is only trade and security, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks . . . where we have not the security of a port'; and again in 1689 they issued a formal declaration of territorial sovereignty, 'the increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that

we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it is their interest to prevent us.'

Force of circumstances was inexorably driving the peaceful merchants who directed the East India Company's activities in London from one forward step to another. We have seen, in this brief sketch of the seventeenth century, how reluctant they were at first to turn their attention to India, and how purely commercial considerations led them to plant the foundations of our Indian Empire at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and at last, even to make war on native princes and assume territorial sovereignty. In the next century the fall of the Moghul Empire and French ambition left them no choice between much more rapid aggrandisement or loss of the trade which was always much dearer to their hearts than empire.

PART III. OUR STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH, 1740 TO 1763

French preparation for the struggle. We have described in Chapter IV how England was generally at war with France between the years 1699 and 1813 (v. Table on p. 47). We must now relate how this Hundred Years' War decided the fate of India. Two short-lived French East India Companies were formed early in the seventeenth century; a third, formed in 1646, traded at Surat and Masulipatam, and, by the end of the century had its own stations at Chandernagore in Bengal, at Pondicherry, in the Carnatic, and also at Mahé on the Malabar coast. Louis XIV, the greatest French king, fixed his attention on conquest in Europe, so the French Government never supported its East India Company as did the Dutch, and, to a lesser extent, the English Government; but the removal of many restrictions on trade at the close of Louis XIV's reign in 1715, and Walpole's twenty-seven years peace (1713-40, v. Chapter IV, p. 39), both greatly encouraged and increased French maritime enterprise.

After the Moghul Empire collapsed, the absence of any strong native ruler in India opened an unexpected prospect of power to Europeans. The French in India saw the chance long before we did and laid their plans accordingly.



INDIA.

Their leaders were at first far abler, far more ambitious than ours, and, when war between England and France broke out again in 1740, their plans were so much more advanced and their position so much stronger that only three things saved us from going under to the French; misunderstandings between the French admirals and military

governors, failure of the French Government to support their agents in India, and the appearance after 1751 of Clive, a really able and far-sighted English leader. Dumas, the Governor of Pondicherry from 1735 to 1741, did much to raise French prestige in India by defying the dreaded Mahrattas when they came to collect tribute in the Carnatic, and by refusing to surrender to them certain refugees who had come with their treasure to Pondicherry for his protection. Dupleix, his successor, who had been in charge at Chandernagore for many years, deliberately aimed at making France the supreme power in India. He interfered successfully in the quarrels of native states, especially in two disputes as to the succession to the throne in the Carnatic, and at Haidarabad, where the Nizam, a Viceroy of the Moghul Empire had become practically independent. Dupleix intended himself to become one of the Moghul Viceroys as a step to later independence, and he actually obtained from the Emperor the title of Nabob. He drilled a large army of Sepoys under French officers, knowing well, what the Portuguese had proved long before, that such troops were greatly superior to any purely native Indian army. He knew that, in the absence of any strong native power, England was the only serious obstacle to the success of his schemes, and he determined to drive the English out of India. His one fatal mistake was to under-estimate the value of sea-power, in which he resembled Louis XIV and many other great Frenchmen.¹ The English had no intermediate naval station on the way to India, but the French had one at Mauritius, where the Governor, Admiral La Bourdonnais, had been preparing, like Dupleix, for renewal of war with England, and commanded a squadron of ships ready for service in India. Others must be blamed, besides Dupleix, for the small use

¹ Napoleon fully recognized the importance of sea-power, and one of his main objects was to make France a maritime, commercial, and colonial power.

France made of this great initial advantage; but his contempt of the navy, and his quarrel with La Bourdonnais, were largely responsible.

The three French Wars, 1740-63. We can only sketch here the course of the three Anglo-French wars, which, between the years 1740 and 1763, decided the fate of India.

First French War, 1740-8. The first was the Indian phase of the European War of the Austrian Succession. The French Government for some time wished to prevent hostilities spreading to India, and so lost the advantage of La Bourdonnais' and Dupleix's preparations. Dupleix waited in vain for naval support, and the English prepared to attack Pondicherry by land and sea. Dupleix's friend, the Nawab of the Carnatic, threatened to attack Madras, and so prevented the English from taking the initiative. Not till 1746 was La Bourdonnais allowed to sail to India, where he defeated an English squadron which took shelter in Ceylon and left Madras to its fate. The French squadron anchored off Pondicherry for some months, during which the Governor-General and the Admiral were bickering, then proceeded to Madras and easily took it from the English. The French commanders quarrelled about the fate of Madras and its English inhabitants. Eventually most of them (including Clive, then an obscure clerk) were imprisoned in Pondicherry, and Dupleix held Madras. La Bourdonnais' fleet suffered severely from the monsoon off Madras, and he left the coast never to return. The English sent a strong fleet which, after hard fighting, failed to recover Madras or to take Pondicherry, but succeeded in cutting off Dupleix from all connexion with France until his anxiety on this account was relieved by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The restoration of Madras to the English in exchange for the fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island did something to recover England's falling prestige in the Carnatic; but Dupleix successfully continued his intrigues, proposed to found a city bearing his name, is reported by a generally

accepted legend to have erected a pillar bearing a record of his successes, and received from the Emperor the coveted title of Nabob. His personal ambition, however, began to be suspected in France and the French Government refused him reinforcements.

Second French War, 1751-4. The second French War was a local contest between the two East India Companies while the French and English were at peace in Europe, consequently it includes no naval operations. The English now openly supported rival claimants as Nizam of Haidarabad and Nawab of the Carnatic in opposition to Dupleix's puppets. During this irregular war one of the Company's clerks, Robert Clive, an even greater leader than Dupleix, emerged from obscurity. Arcot, the capital of the Nawab of the Carnatic, is only sixty-four miles from Madras; at the head of two hundred English and three hundred sepoy Clive took Arcot by surprise, and held it for two months against heavy odds till reinforcements came. Clive's daring leadership, and the prestige of his name, were henceforward invaluable to the English cause. The French generally fared ill in the Carnatic, though they were successful in the Deccan, where Bussy, a good general, got complete control over the northern Circars, the coast strip adjoining Haidarabad, and dominated the court of the Nizam. The French Governments in Europe disliked the irregular warfare in India, and entered into negotiations with the English Government to stop it; the English wisely insisted on Dupleix's recall as a preliminary to any agreement.. Dupleix was recalled to die in disgrace, both French and English were forbidden by the treaty to accept Moghul titles or to meddle in political affairs, and the fighting in India stopped for two years till the Seven Years' War broke out. Though the French at the end of this war possessed far more of the Coromandel coast than the English, and though Bussy commanded 5,000 well-trained troops at Haidarabad, the English were in a stronger position than in 1748, and

benefited greatly in the final struggle by the recall of Dupleix and the rise of Clive.

The Seven Years' War in India. The events of the next war are best summarized under three heads—the war at sea, the war in Bengal, and the war in the Carnatic.

The War at Sea. At sea the rival admirals, Pocock and d'Aché, fought three bloody battles in which neither was victorious. D'Aché in the first battle prevented the English from relieving Fort St. David, south of Madras, which fell to the French, their only considerable success in the war. After a second battle he had to put in to Pondicherry to refit; but, after quarrelling with Lally, the French general, and finding no supplies there, he sailed away in disgust to Mauritius. The French Government had shamefully neglected the naval base founded there by La Bourdonnais, and d'Aché could neither get rigging for his ships nor food for his men. He wrote to France that 'he was about to leave only to save the crews from dying of hunger', and returned for a fourth battle to the Coromandel coast, where Lally was besieging Madras and waiting anxiously for his help. Pocock, with nine ships against eleven, did not hesitate to attack again, and, after a third battle d'Aché put into Pondicherry, and soon left India to its fate as La Bourdonnais had done before him. The fruits of victory went to the weaker side, for Pocock was allowed to raise the siege of Madras, and thenceforward the English received supplies and reinforcements by sea, while the French did not.

The War in Bengal. The struggle between the French and English in Bengal was mixed up with a more serious war against Suraj-ad-daula, the Nawab who had overwhelmed the English traders in Calcutta and perpetrated the Black Hole outrage in June 1756. An expedition under Clive and Admiral Watson, which had just reached Madras after putting down the Bombay pirates (vide p. 125), soon relieved Calcutta. When news came of the war in

Europe the Nawab applied to the French in Chandernagore for help, and Clive seized Chandernagore. In June 1757, with an army of 3,000 including 950 Europeans, he defeated at Plassey the Nawab's army of 50,000 which included only 50 Frenchmen. This victory made England's position secure in Bengal, and Clive was even able to send most of his Bengal troops in the following year southwards for service against the French in the Deccan.

The War in the Carnatic. The downfall of France in the Carnatic dated from the arrival at Pondicherry in 1758 of Count de Lally, in command of 2,000 picked French troops. Lally had distinguished himself as a soldier in Europe, but was tactless, quarrelsome, and prejudiced against all colonial Frenchmen, whom he believed to care for nothing but private trade and making money out of the French Government; so he made an enemy of nearly every Frenchman in Pondicherry. He was disgusted to find no transport or supplies ready for his troops, and quarrelled with the governor about this grievance as soon as he arrived. Thanks to d'Aché's first success he managed to take Fort St. David, and then concentrated all his attention on the siege of Madras, for which he failed to secure d'Aché's necessary co-operation. By recalling Bussy and replacing him by an incapable substitute, he weakened the French influence in Masulipatam, the northern Circars, and Haidarabad, and a force Clive sent south under Colonel Forde from Bengal in 1758 took Masulipatam from the French after a short campaign and obtained a friendly alliance and the control of the northern Circars from the Nizam. After Pocock's fleet had raised the siege of Madras, the French army was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote in the decisive battle of Wandiwash, where the disappointed Bussy was taken prisoner. Lally had to withdraw the remains of his army into Pondicherry, which, after a nine months' siege, capitulated to the English in 1761. By that time all the other French fortresses in the Carnatic, and also Mahé, were in English hands. By

the peace of Paris in 1763 Pondicherry was restored to the French.

They fought us often again in India as allies of the Mahrattas and Tipu, Sultan of Mysore. During our second Mysore war in 1782 and 1783 the aged Bussy again commanded the French forces on land, and Suffren, the most brilliant admiral who ever served France, secured French command of supplies and reinforcements and cut off our own in spite of the inefficiency of his subordinates and the dogged resistance of Admiral Hughes.¹ French privateers from Mauritius did great damage to our shipping till we took the island from France in 1810. But French command of the sea came too late. The French had no secure base on land from which to operate, and all their Indian intrigues only resulted in fresh accessions to our Empire.

The result of the Seven Years' War had been nearly as decisive in India as in North America. We won in both cases because we were not putting our best energies into a European struggle, because our commanders were less jealous of one another, and because our maritime trade and naval policy rested on securer foundations.

PART IV. INDIA UNDER GOVERNORS-GENERAL 1774-1858 AND VICEROYS 1858-1914

We have so far told the story of British India in some detail, because an introductory history's chief object is to arouse interest, and it is difficult to make a bare outline of history interesting. The limits of this short introductory history unfortunately make it impossible to follow in any detail the subsequent history of India under her Governors-General and Viceroy. Wars, annexations, and administra-

¹ After his fourth battle with Hughes, Suffren wrote: 'It is frightful to have had four times in our power to destroy the English squadron and that it still exists.' He complained bitterly of the poor support he got from his captains, and his campaigns exemplify, besides French enterprise and daring, the old weakness in co-operation between French commanders.

tive reforms are the leading features of this important and difficult period. Only the most essential of them will now be mentioned for reference and in brief outline ; the study of a special history of India, such as most Indian High School students use, will be necessary for their thorough appreciation.

Clive's Administration. During the period of fifteen years between the end of the Seven Years' War and the appointment of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, we made no attempt at further conquest, though Clive knew well that, to use his own words, ' It was scarcely hyperbole (exaggeration) to say that to-morrow the whole Moghul Empire is in our power.' After Plassey Clive obtained the Dewani of Bengal by which the East India Company collected revenue and were responsible for military defence, though the Nawab carried on civil government and administered justice. As Governor of Bengal from 1765 to 1767 Clive did something to secure a better administration and to check the dishonesty and rapacity of the Company's badly paid civil servants.¹ Their misconduct and our extraordinary advance in India roused public opinion in England to the need of regulating by law the East India Company's proceedings. Consequently the English Parliament passed the Regulating Act in 1773, which placed the Company to some extent under the control of the King's ministers, and turned the Governor of Bengal into a Governor-General aided by a council. The following lists show the Governors-General who ruled India till 1858 (the date of the Indian Mutiny), and the Viceroys who ruled after it :

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

1774-85	Warren Hastings	1798-1805	Marquis Wellesley
1786-93	Lord Cornwallis	1805-7	Sir George Barlow
1793-8	Sir John Shore	1807-13	Lord Minto

¹ Lally had attempted the same task in Pondicherry (vide Part III, p. 133), but failed through want of tact and personal prestige. Clive first recommended the only sure way to reform, adequate pay to the Company's servants.

1813-23	Marquis of Hastings	1836-42	Lord Auckland
1823-8	Lord Amherst	1842-4	Lord Ellenborough
1828-35	Lord William Bentinck	1844-8	Lord Hardinge
1835-6	Sir Charles Metcalfe	1848-56	Lord Dalhousie
(provisional Governor-General)		1856-8	Lord Canning

INDIAN VICEEROYS

1858-62	Lord Canning	1888-95	Lord Lansdowne
1862-3	Lord Elgin	1895-8	Lord Elgin
1864-9	Lord Lawrence	1899-1905	Lord Curzon
1869-72	Lord Mayo	1905-10	Lord Minto
1872-6	Lord Northbrook	1910-16	Lord Hardinge
1876-80	Lord Lytton	1916-21	Lord Chelmsford
1880-4	Lord Ripon	1921	Lord Reading
1884-8	Lord Dufferin .		

Some famous Governors-General and Viceroy. The personalities and the work of some of these Governors-General and Viceroy are so interesting and important that, before going on to summarise wars, annexations, and internal reforms, it will be worth while to pause here and consider them briefly.

Warren Hastings. 1774-85, took charge of India when organized government hardly existed, had to contend against the interference of his own council, and could not avoid expensive and risky wars with the Maharrattas and Mysore, both supported by France. During one crisis, in 1780, he knew that the very existence of the Company's rule was threatened by its many enemies. Yet he brought order out of confusion, and found time to reform the civil government, especially the revenue and judicial services, and to encourage education and oriental research. His famous trial after retirement for certain irregularities in his administration, which he defended as necessary to secure funds during a dangerous crisis, ended in his acquittal. It did good, however, by drawing attention to India and increasing England's sense of responsibility for India's welfare.

Lord Wellesley. 1798-1805, was the most brilliant of the Governors-General and was well known in England as a

scholar, wit, orator, and statesman. On the day he took over his Governor-Generalship, a large number of French troops were landed in southern India, but, by crushing Mysore and the Mahrattas, he succeeded in defeating the Indian intrigues of Napoleon, whom his brother, the Duke of Wellington, defeated later in Europe. Wellesley frankly aimed at making the British the paramount power in India and succeeded in doing so. Disregarding his predecessor's policy of 'non-intervention' with native states Wellesley replaced it by a policy of 'subsidiary alliances'. He wished to abolish the Company's monopoly of trade, and throw India's trade open to all. The directors at home, whom he once called 'the cheese-makers of Leadenhall Street', disliked his views and his military expenditure. Their desire to return to the 'non-intervention' policy led to Wellesley's recall.

Lord Hastings, 1813-23, though a distinguished soldier, came out determined to avoid war and acquisition of new territory, yet was forced to fight the Gurkhas, Pindaris, and Mahrattas for the protection of Bengal. Afterwards he gave careful attention to administrative reform. He showed not only military ability and decision, but also liberality, tact, and courtesy in the civil side of his administration.

Lord William Bentinck, 1828-35, was fortunate enough to find India at peace and to accomplish many useful reforms. The modern system of secondary and higher education in India through the medium of the English language was warmly advocated by the English historian Macaulay, Law Member of Bentinck's council, and Bentinck's government decided to make English the 'official and literary language of the country', a momentous decision for India's future. Macaulay's words, engraved on Bentinck's statue at Calcutta, summarize this Governor-General's manifold activities in the phrase 'he infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom'.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848–56, was the youngest Governor-General and one of the greatest. He had been President of the Board of Trade in England, and did much for Indian education, public works, and postal services. Yet his name is often associated with that of Wellesley, for, like Wellesley, he believed firmly in the benefits of British rule, and annexed the Punjab and Pegu by conquest and seven smaller Indian native principalities by applying the Doctrine of Lapse.¹ The annexation of Oude was not a case of lapse; it was annexed in consequence of persistent misgovernment during Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship, but against his advice, and by express orders from England. Its annexation was one of the many causes of the Indian Mutiny. He gave his life to India, and died broken in health a few years after retirement. He lived long enough to get the terrible news of the Indian Mutiny, which led many Englishmen unjustly to blame his administration and policy of annexation.

Lord Ripon, 1880–4, was, like Lord Bentinck, fortunate in possessing liberal views and in finding peaceful conditions in India which made it possible to act on them. He removed restrictions from the Vernacular Press; he believed in local self-government as a training for fuller political responsibility, and encouraged municipalities and district boards which had been instituted some time earlier. He was specially sympathetic to the rapidly increasing class of Indians who had been educated on Western lines, and to this day advocates of self-government in India quote his speeches and hold his memory in special honour.

The personalities, actions, and policies of the last four viceroys, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Chelmsford, will provide matter of vital importance and interest for future historians, but their work is too

¹ This doctrine denied childless rajahs the right of passing on their Sovereignty by adoption, and declared that, in such cases, the Sovereignty 'lapsed to the paramount power'. It was only applied in the case of rulers who had lived only for selfish pleasures, and had been proved incapable of efficient administration.

recent, and too common a subject of modern political controversy to be suitable yet for historical treatment.

Wars and Annexations after 1774. The number of our wars and annexations in India, especially in the eighteenth century, is remarkable. It continually alarmed the East India Company's directors in London who did their best to put on the drag, and it has caused most continental historians to accuse us of greed and rapacity. It is certainly true that the growth of our Indian Empire ceased after the seventeenth century to be haphazard, and resulted to some extent from a definite policy on the part of English statesmen. Yet the policy was forced on us by the need of defending our Indian trade at first from France (who showed us the road to Empire in India), and later from native enemies and from Russia. Our statesmen never sought Empire for Empire's sake, and entered on nearly all our wars with reluctance.

Though we dealt a crushing blow to France in 1763, it was not the last blow necessary. Dupleix's schemes continued long after to menace us, and had to be met to some extent by Dupleix's own methods. In 1792 a French squadron and French troops gave valuable help to our enemy Tipu of Mysore, and Frenchmen fought with the Mahrattas against us till the end of the second Mahratta war in 1803. We were not really free from the French menace in India till after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. The end of our struggle with the Mahrattas in 1819 is a landmark in the history of our Indian wars; all fought before that date were against the Mahrattas or Mysore, or their temporary allies, and were rendered necessary by French intrigues; all our wars after 1819 were fought either for the security of Bengal, i. e. our wars with Nepal, Burma, Assam, and the Sikhs, or for the security of our north-west frontier from Russian intrigues, i. e. our wars with Sind and Afghanistan. Our chief wars and annexations from 1763 onwards may be briefly summarized as follows.

Mahratta Wars, 1775-80, 1803, 1817-19. Three wars were needed to subdue the Mahrattas, the most dangerous enemies to the peace of India.

The first Mahratta war (1775-80), during Warren Hastings's Governor-Generalship, led to our retaining Salsette and Bassein as a protection to Bombay.

The second in 1803, under Lord Wellesley, led to our occupation of Delhi and Agra and our 'protection' of the phantom Moghul Emperor.

The third, 1817-19, led to the addition of a large piece of the Mahratta country to the Bombay Presidency, which then took its present shape (though Sind was not added till 1843).

In the first and second wars the Mahratta armies were drilled and organized by the Chevalier de Boigne and other French officers, but Lord Wellesley was able in 1803 to write to his directors that 'no French Officers of any consideration now remain in the service of the confederated Mahratta Chieftains'.

We fought four wars with Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, and his son Tipu, the allies of the French.

Mysore Wars, 1767-9, 1780-4, 1790-2, 1799. In the first war, 1767-9, Haidar Ali got favourable terms after appearing in force under the walls of Madras.

In the second war, 1780-4, we failed to crush Haidar Ali (who died in 1782) and his son Tipu. Before his death, however, Haidar Ali realized his mistake in opposing the English and said, 'I can ruin their resources on land but I cannot dry up the sea.'

In the third war, 1790-2, Lord Cornwallis himself took the field against Tipu, who lost half of his dominions.

The fourth war was fought in 1799 under Lord Wellesley. Seringapatam was captured, Tipu was killed and his kingdom divided between the Nizam of Haidarabad, a Hindu Rajah, and the Company, which took a great strip of the Malabar sea-coast. The Madras Presidency then took practically its present shape.

Burma, 1824-6, 1852, 1884-8. We fought three Burmese wars in 1824-6, in 1852, and in 1884-8.

The first gave us the coast strips of Arakan and Tenasserim, the second gave us Pegu, including Rangoon, the third gave us Upper Burma, and ended the Burmese monarchy.

Sikhs, 1845-6, 1848-9. Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie fought two wars with the Sikhs, in 1845-6, and 1848-9, which resulted in our annexation of the Punjab.

Afghanistan, 1838, 1878-9. Our three wars with Afghanistan in the nineteenth century were due to our anxiety about our north-west frontier, and the designs of Russia, which had by this time taken France's place in most men's minds as our chief danger in India.

In 1838 Lord Auckland had unwisely interfered by placing his nominee on the throne of Kabul, and by sending an English Political Agent to reside there. Our agent was murdered, and a small British army was defeated and destroyed. After sending an 'avenging army' to Kabul to restore our prestige we left the Afghans to manage their own affairs till 1878.

In 1878 Lord Lytton declared war against Afghanistan because the Amir had accepted a Russian mission but refused an English one. Events followed the same course as in Lord Auckland's time. We dethroned the Amir, put his son in his place, withdrew our army, and left in Kabul an unfortunate British resident, who was murdered, and his escort overpowered.

Our third Afghan war was undertaken in 1879 to avenge this outrage. We lost one battle, but Lord Roberts proved the superiority of British arms. The Government had intended to retain Kandahar beyond the Bolan Pass, but a change of ministry following on a general election in England (vide Chapter VIII, p. 173) prevented this, and we once more withdrew from Afghanistan. The Amir promised to have no diplomatic intercourse with Russia, and to regard

our enemies as his own, and, until the year 1919, he and his successors kept this promise.

After this war the Khan of Kelat ceded to us Quetta and the surrounding districts, which became the new province of British Baluchistan, bordering the Afghan dominions and only eighty miles from Kandahar.

Sind, 1843. In 1843 Lord Ellenborough blamed the Amirs of Sind (Baluchi chieftains whose ancestors had occupied the land round the lower Indus) for obstructing our troops in 1839 when marching through their country to Afghanistan. We unjustifiably provoked hostilities, and, after a brief war, annexed the territories of the Amirs to the Presidency of Bombay. Few historians have attempted to justify the policy which led to this war, though the presence of a weak native power on the north-west frontier was dangerous to the Empire.

Nepal, 1814-16. After a long war, necessary because of the encroachments on Bengal of the warlike Gurkhas, Nepal kept its independence, but accepted a British resident. We acquired Simla, Mussooree, and other hill stations, and a valuable recruiting ground for the Indian Army.

The Pindaris, 1819. The Pindaris, the refuse of the Moghul and Mahratta armies, sometimes robbing independently, sometimes allied with the Mahrattas, had been the scourge of India since the fall of the Moghul Empire. In 1817 they were rounded up and practically extirpated by Lord Hastings in a campaign which ended just before the third Mahratta war broke out.

Frontier Wars. We have had to fight again and again the warlike tribes on our north-west frontier, who have a love of plundering and still hope that our hold on the frontier may one day weaken and once more leave the plains of India open to invasion from the north.

The Mutiny, 1857. We omit here, for want of space, the story of the Indian Mutiny, which can be found in more or

less detail in every school history of England or of India. Its chief results may be noted here :

1. The complete transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, and the consequent dissolution of the East India Company by Act of Parliament in 1873.

2. The publication of the Queen's Proclamation (which is quoted on p. 148).

3. The restriction of Indian officers to the lower ranks of the Indian Army, a precaution which has caused much natural criticism and discontent, and was abandoned to some extent during the Great War.

4. The mutiny showed the danger of excluding Indians from Indian legislation, and so led to the Indian Councils Acts (vide p. 149).

Constitutional Changes. Clive's Dewani, and Dual Control. After Plassey had given Clive the Dewani of Bengal, he established a dual control by which the Nawab became a figurehead and the Company really ruled. The same system obtained for many years in Madras. Our first legal right to administer Bengal and Madras depended on the fiction that the Delhi Emperor was still the Suzerain (or overlord) and allowed us to rule for him, like the Nawabs of Bengal, Oude, and the Carnatic. It was long before the Company abandoned this convenient fiction ; but, since the Regulating Act of 1773, the legal right of Englishmen to rule India has been derived from the Parliament of Great Britain. So far Parliament in its charters had only conferred on the Company the monopoly of trading, but in 1773 it conferred the right to govern in India. The original right of Parliament to do anything of the kind may be doubtful ; but there is no doubt that Parliament was actuated by a conscientious desire to give India better government, and that the result was beneficial. From that time onwards Parliament undertook the responsibility of seeing that India was justly treated and that she did not suffer from her curious fate of being governed by a commercial company.

The Regulating Act, 1773. The Regulating Act of 1773 limited the power of the Company, required that the King's ministers in England should be informed of all its important actions, set up a supreme court of judicature with four English judges appointed by the Crown, and turned the Governor of Bengal into a Governor-General of India assisted by a council of four members.

Warren Hastings found this Regulating Act unworkable because his council of four could overrule him. The Supreme Court also, though with no responsibility for the peace and good government of the country, could and did overrule the executive who were responsible for peace and order. Hastings's enemies had attacked him, and his action had aroused general criticism at home. Parliament had demanded his recall, to which the Company refused to consent. Consequently Parliament determined to strengthen its control over the Company.

Pitt's India Act of 1784. Pitt's India Act of 1784 accordingly gave the Crown the power to recall the Governor-General or any servant of the Company. It continued to nominate its Governors-General, but such nominations had to be approved by the Crown. Precautions were taken to prevent the Governor-General being overruled, like Hastings, by his council. Parliament was no longer content that the King's ministers should merely receive information of the Company's proceedings, but set up a Parliamentary Board to control it. Henceforth all annexations and other administrative acts of the Governors-General were done with the sanction of Parliament.

Government of India Act of 1858. When the Indian Mutiny ended the Company's existence, another Act, the Government of India Act of 1858, ended the dual control of India by the Company's directors and Pitt's Parliamentary Board of Control, and replaced them by a Secretary of State for India, aided by a council, nine members of which must at present have had Indian experience. The Secretary of

State for India is, like all the King's ministers, responsible to Parliament ; thus Parliament controls the fate of India, and all important reforms in the Government of India must be enacted by Parliament.

Indian Reforms by Parliament after 1858. For various reasons Parliament's interest in Indian affairs became less active, less well informed, and less continuous after 1858 than it had been while the East India Company shared the responsibility. A number of Acts, intended to give natives of India an increasing share in local self-government, imperial and provincial legislation, and the work of administration, were, however, passed by Parliament. Among the most important of these Acts are the Local Government Acts of 1860 and 1882, the Indian Councils Acts of 1861, 1892, and 1909, Regulations of 1831 admitting Indians to the Public Services, and an Act of 1870 'to provide additional facilities for the employment of Natives of India of proved merit and ability'.

The Company's charters in the seventeenth century. Before saying good-bye to the East India Company we shall shortly review the history of its charters, because their periodical renewals during the first half of the nineteenth century resulted in important declarations by Parliament of its Indian Policy, some of which anticipate later promises in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858.

The seventeenth-century charters granted by Elizabeth, Cromwell, and the Stuart Sovereigns allowed the Company's agents to trade in India, and generally closed Indian trade to any other British subjects. James I and Charles I, however, did give other people licences to trade in India, and William III, in 1698, actually granted a charter to a rival East India Company. Until 1708 the original Company suffered much from such competition, as well as from unlicensed 'interlopers' who sometimes got us a bad name in India for piracy. In 1708 Lord Godolphin, appointed to

arbitrate between the rival companies, arranged for their amalgamation and restored the Company's monopoly of trade, which continued till 1813, depending as in the past on Act of Parliament.

Importance of renewals of the Company's charter in 1793, 1813, 1833, 1853. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Company's charter was renewed at intervals of every twenty years, i.e. in 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853, and Parliament made a practice on these occasions of fully reviewing and discussing the Company's administration. The absence after 1858 of these occasions for taking stock of Indian affairs explains to some extent Parliament's loss of interest in them.

Charter of 1813. Before the charter was renewed in 1813 the Company was attacked by merchants and manufacturers fighting for open trade, and by another party headed by Wilberforce, the great enemy of the slave-trade (vide p. 20, Chapter II), which fought for the introduction of philanthropic schemes for the betterment of India. Both parties were successful. The new Charter abolished the Company's monopoly of trade in India, though not in China, and resolved 'that it is the duty of the country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient faculties shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: provided always, that the authority of the Local Government, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.' The door of India was thus opened

to English planters, merchants, missionaries, and school-masters.

Charter of 1833. Though in 1833 the Company got another twenty years' lease of life, the liberal notions of the day (the first Reform Bill had just been passed, vide p. 41, Chapter IV) are reflected in the terms under which the charter was renewed.

The last trace of trade monopoly disappeared, the Company had to sell up its stock and plant, and abstain in future from all commercial activities. A Law member, Macaulay, was added to the Governor-General's Council. To improve and unify Indian law Parliament appointed a Commission whose labours resulted thirty years later in the Indian Penal Code, and the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure. The Governor-General was directed to consider means to put an end to slavery throughout India which was accomplished in 1843. A promise was given to India that 'no natives of the said territories (i.e. the East India Company's), nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of its religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company'.

Charter of 1853. In 1853 Parliament transferred the right of patronage (i.e. the right of presentations to Indian appointments) from the Directors to the Board of Control, and renewed the Company's Charter indefinitely without stating any term of years. The Government of India Act, passed after the mutiny of 1858, did not renew the Company's Charter.

The Queen's Proclamation, 1858. The Queen's proclamation of 1858, often called the Magna Charta of Indian liberties, announced that she had taken on herself the government of the Honourable East India Company's territories, and appointed Viscount Canning 'to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over the said

territories, and to administer the Government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our principal Secretaries of State'. It went on to confirm all treaties made between the Company and native princes, declared that 'we desire no extension of our present territorial dominions', promised scrupulous respect for Indian religions, customs, and law, confirmed the promise to Indians of employment in the public services which Parliament had made in 1833, and ended with the following much quoted words, 'when, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity shall be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.'

The fulfilment of these solemn promises has been seen during the last sixty years in India's well-known economic, social, educational, and political progress, which we have no space to describe in detail here.

Difficulties of administration since 1858. The Indian administration's chief difficulties during these sixty years may be divided into two classes. Those of the first class, such as pestilence, famine, and the mutual jealousies and warring interests of different communities would have been inevitable under any administration native or foreign in India. Those of the second class have been due either to the effects of western education or to that racial antipathy which seems to some extent inevitable wherever a foreign rule, however beneficent, has been imposed by conquest. Political unrest in India arises mainly from a growing sense of nationality,

the inevitable result of a deliberate educational policy which has provided India not only with a *lingua franca* (i.e. common language), but with a literature reflecting the most liberal western ideas; it may therefore be considered, within limits, as a healthy sign.

Slow progress towards self-government during the nineteenth century. Political advance during the nineteenth century was necessarily slow and cautious. The establishment of Indian Municipalities and District Boards have not perhaps stimulated as much public interest in local affairs as Lord Ripon anticipated, and the Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1882, though they gave the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils the benefit of Indian opinion, and introduced the principle of election to those councils, did little to train Indians of any class for public work and responsibility.

Rapid progress in the twentieth century. In the twentieth century, however, very rapid progress has been made. The work and responsibility of elected members of Municipalities and District Boards have been greatly increased. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 greatly enlarged the number of elected members in both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils (the Imperial Legislative Council in the year 1919 numbered 68, of whom 35 were official or nominated members, 32 were non-official, 27 being elected by the provincial legislative councils, chambers of commerce, municipalities, and certain communities). This was a considerable advance towards the form of Representative Government which had preceded Responsible Government in Canada, South Africa, and Australia. Though Lord Morley, the Secretary of State responsible, distinctly stated that his new constitution was not intended as a step to Responsible Government, it was inevitable that many educated Indians should, after such an advance, look forward impatiently in that direction. The growing insistence of the progressive party in India, and the strained

relations between the elected members of the Viceroy's Council and the executive,¹ have made government under Lord Morley's constitution increasingly difficult.

During the great war India rendered notable and invaluable service to the British Empire, and acquired, to quote Lord Sinha, 'a feeling of profound pride that she had not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire, but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the time of their sorest need.' All parties in India were gratified by the appointment of two representatives from India to the Imperial War Conference in 1918.

Announcement of the Secretary of State in August 1917. The following momentous announcement, made in August 1917 by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, delighted the great majority of educated Indians and many other people who were in favour of bold political reform. 'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that

¹ Such strained relations are a difficulty often experienced under Representative Government (v. Chapter V, pp. 70 and 71, on the early Legislative assemblies of Lower Canada, and Chapter IX, p. 198, for somewhat similar conditions in the Philippines). Where members of a legislature have no control over an executive and therefore no personal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, their criticism of the Government and their proposals for legislation both tend to be rash and irresponsible (v. the Montague-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional reforms, Chapter III, para 81).

I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of Local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.'

In fulfilment of this promise the Secretary of State and Viceroy personally consulted the highest officials and representatives of all leading communities in India. The result was the new Government of India Act which became law in 1920. Proposals from the Government of India for a new constitution for Burma were in the same year being considered by the Imperial authorities.

Books recommended for further study.

PART I

History's Background. Book II, Chapter VII. Townsend and Franklin. Macmillan.

The Association of History and Geography. Berry. Blackie. Pp. 106-112.

The Oxford History of India, from the earliest times till 1911. Vincent Smith. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

PART II

India. Vol. VII of Sir Charles Lucas's *Historical Geography of the Dominions.* Clarendon Press.

Early English Adventures in the East. Arnold White. Melrose.

History of the British in India. Vols. I and II. Hunter.

Sketches of Rulers of India. Vol. IV (for the Great Moghuls). Oswell. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

The Oxford History of India, from the earliest times till 1911. Vincent Smith. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

<i>In the Land of Princes</i>	}	Gabrielle Festing. Cooper.
<i>Strangers within the Gate</i>		
<i>When Kings rode to Delhi</i>		

India Through the Ages. Flora Annie Steel. Routledge.

British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. Book III.

PART III .

History of India. Thompson. Christian Literature Society. London and Madras.

Oxford Student's History of India. Vincent Smith. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

The Oxford History of India, from the earliest times till 1911. Vincent Smith. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Influence of Sea Power on History. Mahan. Sampson Low. Chapters VII, VIII, and IX.

Sketches of Rulers of India Series. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Warren Hastings by Sir A. Lyall. 'English Men of Action'. Macmillan.

Dupleix and Clive. The Beginning of Empire. Dodwell. Methuen. 1920.

The Last Days of the Company. A Source-book of Indian History from 1818 to 1858. Anderson and Subedar. Bell.

PART IV

Sketches of Rulers of India Series; Pollard's *British Empire*, Book III; and Thompson's or Vincent Smith's *Histories of India*, as above.

Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. IV.

The Citizen of India. Lee Warner. Macmillan; or *England's Work in India*. Ghose. Published by Calcutta University, 1911.

India at the Crossways. Lord Meston (Rede Lecture, 1920). Cambridge University Press.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (obtainable from Thacker, Spink, Calcutta, or Constable, London.)

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

PARTS I AND II

1. Trace the influence of geographical conditions on the history of the Northern Plains of India, or on that of Burma.

2. Read, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, or in Arnold White's *Early English Adventurers in the East*, about William Hawkins's and Sir Thomas Roe's missions to Jehangir ; compare their methods and the results which each achieved.

3. When and why did the British East India Company concentrate its attention on continental India ? Summarize its achievements there during the seventeenth century.

PART III

1. Make a sketch-map to illustrate the physical features of India and the Anglo-French wars.

2. Compare the life work of Albuquerque, Coen, Dupleix and Clive.

3. Summarize all the important naval campaigns in which European ships have been engaged off the coast of India, and mention the chief results of each. (See Chapter II, pp. 15 and 16, and Chapter VII, pp. 118, 130, 132 and 134.)

PART IV

1. Read, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Dictionary of National Biography*, or *Sketches of Rulers of India*, the lives of some famous Governors-General or Viceroys, and summarize them in writing.

2. Discuss the policies of 'lapse', 'subsidiary alliance' and 'non-intervention' as pursued by British rulers of India.

3. Discuss the historical results of Macaulay's famous 'Minute' on Indian Education.

4. Summarize in tabular form the chief constitutional changes in India since 1773.

5. Mention in order the chief occasions when the English authorities promised to govern India for the good of the inhabitants.

6. Why does the year 1803 serve as a useful landmark in classifying our wars and annexations in India ?

7. Why has the grant of Responsible Government in India been so long delayed ? Mention some arguments for its gradual introduction.

8. What is the responsibility of the people of Great Britain towards India ? To what extent have they shown since 1773 that they realize the heaviness of this responsibility ?

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Geographical Features. In Africa nature has worked on bold lines, her geographical features are bold and striking, and their influence on human life can easily be traced. South Africa, the region south of the Zambezi, which contains the Cape, Orange Free State, Natal, and Transvaal Provinces of the Union of South Africa, with Southern Rhodesia, Zululand, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland, Swaziland, the late German S. W. Africa, and most of the Portuguese East Africa, can be divided into the following three geographical regions :

1. *The Coastal Ranges.* Their position and climatic influence may be compared to that of the Eastern and Western Ghats in India, though in Africa the ranges on the eastern side are important, those on the western side insignificant, while in India we find this arrangement reversed. Two high coastal ranges run parallel to the southern coast, from behind Cape Town to Port Elizabeth, and the Drakensberg Range continues the wall of mountains for sixteen hundred miles farther up the east coast into Rhodesia. Wild hilly country lies around the main Drakensberg Range. Basutoland, the Switzerland of South Africa, a mountain country about the size of Wales, with some peaks over 11,000 ft. high, and even the valleys 5,000 ft. above sea-level, has enabled a small nation to maintain semi-independence and distinct national characteristics. In Natal the land descends from the Drakensberg to the sea in spacious terraces. The names of Bushman's Pass, Van Reenen's Pass, and Laing's Nek, three passes which lead from Basutoland, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal into Natal, recur again and again in the chequered history of that colony. The Drakens-

berg is the chief factor controlling climate in South Africa ; its influence, which will be discussed later, may be compared to that of the Australian Dividing Range (v. Chapter VI, p. 81).

2. *The Coastal Plains.* These plains are narrow between



PHYSICAL AND GENERAL MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Town and Durban, and wider in Natal, Zululand, and Portuguese territory. They are, however, swampy, malarious, and tropical north of Natal, which explains to some extent the failure of Portugal in South Africa (see p. 158). Through absence of coastal indentations in these plains, and the presence of bars at the mouths of rivers, they

contain few harbours. Owing to the barrenness of much of the interior, these coastal plains, which are well watered and fertile, have played a more important part in South African history than one would expect from their limited area.

3. *The Central Plateau* is the true South Africa, for it occupies seven-eighths of South Africa's surface, and stretches unbroken, except by the deep beds of the Orange River and its tributaries, from the swampy Zambezi valley to the Great Karoo in Cape Colony, and over the Kalihari desert almost to the Atlantic. There is not much fall on the inland side of the Drakensberg divide, for the average height of the Plateau is 3,000 ft. to 5,000 ft. above sea-level. The rain-bearing trade winds blow from the south-east, and deposit most of their moisture on the coastal ranges before reaching the interior. The climate of the plateau is therefore dry, and rainfall decreases the farther we go west ; it is cool owing to its altitude and to the presence of great masses of ocean in the southern hemisphere.

Influence of Climate and Physical Features. Many consequences of climate and physical configuration on South African history will be noticed in the course of this chapter ; we have only space to suggest the most important here. The cool dry climate favoured both European and Kaffir immigration and settlement, hence the clash of white and black races. The absence of navigable rivers, a result of climate and configuration, retarded exploration and settlement in the early days, and, in a modern commercial age, have made railways a necessity, and, owing to the scarcity of water and fuel, an expensive one, and a very important problem in South African politics. The slowness of the ox-wagon, for long the only means of communication, kept the early groups of settlers isolated and postponed their political federation till the age of railways (compare Australia, Chapter VI, p. 105). The rivers have served as convenient boundaries for geographers, and, owing to their deep channels, have retarded rather than assisted commerce ; but they have

never served as effective boundaries between states, so frequent territorial annexations and concessions have been encouraged.

South African conditions of life have profoundly influenced the character of her European immigrants. Comparatively few Boers have ever taken to agriculture, and hunting and stock-raising in a dry prairie country, though they develop independence and resource, discourage the social instincts; hence their 'extraordinary love of isolation, and their ingrained and passionate aversion to control'. Britishers, too, unconsciously lose their old racial characteristics and acquire new ones more rapidly in South Africa than in any other British colony; the 'Africander' spirit has done much to promote sympathy between Boer and Briton, but has made the South African Briton peculiarly averse to Imperial control, from which he has unfortunately suffered as well as benefited in the past.

History. Over twenty years ago a keen observer wrote of South Africa 'there are few places where recollections of the past are more powerful factors in the troubles of the present', and the remark is still true. Unlike Australia, South Africa has had more than its fair share of history, all crowded into the last one hundred and twenty years. It is the story of the clash of seven races, four European and three African. Read on a map the names of the political divisions of South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, German South West Africa, Zululand, Griqualand, Bechuanaland, Mashonaland, Basutoland. Each name recalls stories of invasion and settlement either by Europeans from the south, or by Bantus from the north, and these immigrations all resulted sooner or later in bloodshed.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century there has always been fighting going on somewhere in South Africa, sometimes between one or other of the warlike Bantu tribes (Zulus, Basutos, Pondos, Matabeles, Kosas), sometimes between these tribes and the Dutch, English, Portuguese or

Germans, and sometimes between the Dutch or Germans and English.

Bushmen, Hottentots, and Kaffirs. When the Portuguese discovered the Cape they found it inhabited only by Bushmen and Hottentots, the former stunted savages who lived by hunting only, the latter medium-sized people who possessed sheep and cattle but knew nothing of agriculture. The Bushmen disappeared long ago leaving few traces except rude cave-paintings; even of the Hottentots few survive; the natives, known as Kaffirs, who now swarm over South Africa are nearly all of the Bantu race, which entered South Africa from the north in modern times. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century very few Bantus had reached the southern part of the peninsular known as Cape Colony.

The Portuguese. The Portuguese, though masters of the Indian Ocean throughout the sixteenth century, never settled in healthy South Africa, though they interfered actively in native politics, and had trading stations at Sofala (near modern Beira in Portuguese East Africa), and farther north at Quiloa and Mombasa. The first Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies, Almeida, the victor of Diu (see Chapter VII, p. 118), after handing over his office to Albuquerque at Goa, was killed on his way home close to Cape Town by some Hottentots, whose sheep had been stolen by his sailors. From this incident the Portuguese received an exaggerated idea of the power of the Cape Hottentots; it was their custom to hug the African coast till north of Madagascar before striking eastward for India; moreover they were a small nation with no desire to colonize, so they left South Africa to be settled by the Dutch, one hundred and fifty years after they had discovered it.

The Dutch at the Cape. The Dutch settlement at the Cape, which dated from 1652, has been described as a Cabbage Garden. It existed, like the French settlement at Mauritius and the British at St. Helena, to victual ships sailing to and

from the Indies. The Dutch at the Cape did not cross the first coastal range till the eighteenth century, and for many years the settlement consisted only of the East India Company's servants cultivating the fertile land near the coast, and buying the meat they needed from neighbouring Hottentot tribes. From the earliest years of the settlement they introduced slaves from the East Indies and Gold Coast, which had many unfortunate results. In 1689 about three hundred Huguenots, French protestant refugees from religious persecution, were allowed to settle at the Cape, but not to retain their own laws and language. They introduced from France the art of making wine which has become an important Cape industry, and they proved good law-abiding colonists, who rapidly lost their nationality through intermarriage with their Dutch neighbours. From their complete break with France, and their strong influence on the less intelligent Dutch sprang the 'Africander spirit', which was further developed when the lonely occupation of feeding cattle on thin pastures became, through the exhaustion of arable land, the principal industry. In 1715 and 1755 small-pox brought from Europe killed off the neighbouring Hottentot tribes, which encouraged more Dutchmen to keep cattle for supplying the ships and the settlement. The Boers (a Dutch word for farmers), pushed north-eastward unmolested by Hottentots as far as the Great Fish River, where as early as 1779 there was fighting between them and Bantu tribes who had recently settled north of it. The two streams of black and white immigration had at last met, and for the next fifty years fought intermittently near the Great Fish River, which long served as a rough boundary between the white and black settlements.

It is noticeable that the Boers were never in sympathy with their own Government, and very early developed the habit of 'treking' into the interior to escape from its restrictions. The Company's Government at the Cape was of a harsh military type, and the colonists never had any

share in it. In 1779 the news of America's revolt, and various grievances, led to political agitation and an unsuccessful deputation to Holland. In 1795 there were revolutions, and two small independent Boer republics were established east of Cape Town. Meanwhile the power of the Dutch East India Company had long been declining, especially since the War of American Independence when the Dutch fought against England, and lost their eastern trade. In the year of the Cape revolutions, 1795, Napoleon conquered Holland. We have noticed in the last chapter how every act of French aggression drove us to extend and strengthen our Empire. In 1795 we seized the Cape¹ from the Dutch, and, though we had to give it back again at the Peace of Amiens in 1803, we retook it when war broke out again in 1806, and have held it ever since.

The British at the Cape, 1806-1836. For twenty years the Boers accepted British rule, readily enough at first, but with growing reluctance. We removed restrictions on trade, and retained the Dutch law and language. Though English immigration tended to centre round Algoa Bay, the English settlers mixed amicably with the Dutch, most of our early governors were wise and considerate, and the Dutch often liked and respected them. There seemed at first a fair prospect of amalgamation and friendship between the two races. After twenty years, however, the chance was lost mainly owing to the influence of missionaries, interference with the Governor's actions by the Colonial Office, and the abolition of slavery. The eternal 'native question' of South Africa has been at the root of most misunderstandings between Boer and Briton; it was further complicated by the different ways in which the two races interpreted their common religious book, the Bible. The Boers had never believed in equal rights for black and white races because

¹ It should be noticed that in 1770 an English squadron had been sent to occupy the Cape, but was prevented from doing so by the superior force and strategy of Admiral Suffren.

their religion largely overlooked the true spirit of Christianity contained in the New Testament, and closely resembled the narrower, intensely national religion of the ancient Jews, 'the chosen people', whose wanderings, tribulations, and conquest of a 'promised land' are recorded in the Old Testament. This part of the Bible naturally appealed to the Boers, who saw their own history reflected in its story of a nation specially favoured by God and sent out by him over the wilderness to win a land of promise from the heathen. They regarded African natives as the Jews regarded the tribes who resisted their occupation of Palestine; the Hottentots, Zulus, and Matabele were Philistines and Amalekites intended by God to become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' if they submitted to his chosen people, and to be exterminated if they did not.

The English missionaries, on the other hand, wished to raise the Kaffirs from subjection to equality with white races, and became their champions against white oppression. Some of them at first married Kaffir women, and not only accepted without proper inquiry tales of outrage which their black friends told them, but sent them home to Europe, where they were readily believed. As a result of the anti-slavery agitation (see footnote, p. 20, Chapter II) a wave of sentimental philanthropy was, in the early years of the nineteenth century, passing over England. Besides influencing for good our treatment of India (e. g. the 1813 and 1833 debates on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, see Chapter VII, pp. 146 and 147) it caused much interference with our Governors at the Cape by the Colonial Office, where the friends of African missionaries exercised considerable influence. The Cape Governors were closely in touch with colonial opinion, for after 1825 they were assisted by an advisory council containing leading colonists, and after 1833 by an executive council and a legislative council of which half were nominated colonists. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor from 1834 to 1838, the

period when Boer discontent reached its climax, was more popular with colonial Boers and Britons than any of his predecessors. In the first year of his governorship the Kaffirs crossed the Great Fish River and raided our settlements round Algoa Bay. The colonial forces drove them beyond the Kei River, and D'Urban annexed the country between the Fish River and the Kei River, but Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, refusing to believe that the Kaffirs were aggressive or a serious danger to our settlements, and probably ignorant of the fact that they were more recent immigrants than their white rivals, cancelled D'Urban's annexation to the exasperation of both English and Boer settlers. In 1835 D'Urban supported a request for annexation from some English settlers in Natal who founded the town of Durban, but this extension of territory was also refused by Lord Glenelg.

The reversal of D'Urban's native policy and his dismissal in 1838 were remembered for over half a century by the Boers and provided one of their long list of grievances against the Colonial Office.

The abolition of slavery in 1834 shocked Boer notions of social order, and caused them severe financial loss owing to the inadequate sum provided for their compensation, and the difficulty they experienced in drawing it.

The Great Trek. These grievances led to the secession, or withdrawal from British territory, of from 6,000 to 10,000 Boers between the years 1836 and 1838. This was known as The Great Trek, one of the landmarks of South African history.¹ Several manifestoes were published by the emigrant farmers enumerating their grievances and their desire 'to lead a more quiet life than we have hitherto done'. The British Government did not attempt to stop them, but warned them that, wherever they went, they would remain British

¹ Note that the abolition of slavery also led twenty-five years later in North America to the secession of the Southern States which caused the great American Civil War.

subjects. They travelled slowly for months over the veldt (prairies) looking for new homes, living by hunting the antelope with which the country swarmed, the men on horse-back driving their cattle before them, the women and children with the household goods in large covered wagons drawn by ten or twelve pairs of oxen. With them rode after his father's cattle a boy of ten, Paul Kruger, destined to be for twenty years the President of the Transvaal Republic.

The Zulu Military Empire. So far collision between the black and white streams of immigration to South Africa had been confined to the Fish River district. The Great Trek so widened the area of conflict that henceforth the histories of Black and White in South Africa are inextricably intermingled. Before we follow the fortunes of the Dutch pioneers or 'voor-trekers', we must go back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and describe the chief consequence of the Bantu invasion, i. e. the growth of the Zulu Empire, which not only proved a serious obstacle to white expansion, but also caused the dispersal of many other powerful Kaffir tribes, and their settlement in the country which they still occupy to-day.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a number of independent Bantu tribes were living along the coast north of the Fish River, and in the present Orange River Colony. They were taller, stronger, and more intelligent, had better tribal laws, customs, and discipline than the Hottentots they displaced, and added agriculture to their main occupation of keeping cattle. But they consisted of a number of petty tribes, speaking different languages and perpetually at war with one another till the close of the eighteenth century when Dingiswayo, the exiled son of a chief in Zululand, visited our Cape settlement, and saw English troops being drilled. This impressed him so much, that, on regaining his kingdom, he drilled and organized his own army in battalions or *impis*; a successor, Chaka, had a brain like that of his contemporary Napoleon, and by superior military

organization and tactics made the Zulus irresistible in native warfare. During the years 1820-30 he laid waste Natal and most of the Orange River Colony. The stronger tribes fled before him in search of new territory, carrying with them war and devastation. His empire extended from Delagoa Bay in the north to the mouth of the Umzimvulu (in the middle of the thickly wooded Kaffir-country between Natal and Cape Colony) in the south. His pressure on the coast tribes caused their attacks on our territories beyond the Fish River. The Matabele, rebel Zulus, fled from their country to settle north and south of the Vaal River, till the Boers drove them over the Limpopo into modern Rhodesia ; the Bechuanas fled to their arid country near the Kalahari desert ; the Basutos took refuge in the mountains.

When the voor-trekers reached the present Orange River Colony and Natal they found them almost unoccupied. The few inhabitants lived on roots, and had even taken to cannibalism ; no tribe dared to settle within striking distance of the Zulu kraals (huts).

The Great Trek and its Three Branches. The Free State. The Great Trek followed three main streams, and resulted in three main settlements. The less adventurous Boers and those least hostile to the British, after crossing the Orange River, remained in the country between it and its tributary the Vaal and were, until the war of 1899, our friendly neighbours. Between 1848 and 1852 the British Orange River Sovereignty was established, most of the Boers being willing to return to British rule, but it was weakly abandoned by the Colonial Office after unsuccessful military operations against the Basutos. An independent Orange Free State followed, which became strong enough to crush the Basutos, and would have done so, had not the British Government stepped in and turned Basutoland into a British Protectorate in 1868. The Boers long bore us a grudge for this interference, but gained in the end by being relieved of all responsibility for controlling their warlike neighbours.

British Empire in South Africa 165

The question of the control of the newly discovered Kimberley diamond fields in West Griqualand on the western border of the Free State was settled in 1871 by mutual agreement and left no ill-feeling. The Free State probably gained again by escaping responsibility for administering the diamond fields, for it was the failure of their Transvaal neighbours to administer the Johannesburg gold mines which later on lost them their independence. Thanks largely to



TRANSVAAL, FREE STATE, AND NATAL

the wise direction of President Brand, who ruled the Republic from 1863 to 1888, the Free State burghers were prosperous and contented, and generally friendly to the English until the great Boer War of 1899.

The Transvaal. The more enterprising voor-trekkers, who crossed the Vaal and peopled the Transvaal country between it and the Limpopo, were less fortunate and less wisely controlled by their leaders. After hard fighting they drove out the Matabele, but their isolation and unconciliatory native policy kept them continually engaged in Kaffir war-

fare, while the strong Zulu empire on their borders was a constant menace. Their leaders often quarrelled among themselves, and in 1856 there were two small independent republics with head-quarters at Lydenburg and Potchefstroom. The Potchefstroom government determined to extend its territory by annexing the Free State, and in 1857 Pretorius and Paul Kruger, believing that the majority of the Free State burghers favoured annexation, led an armed raid into that country to accomplish it by force of arms. This attempt, which was particularly discreditable because the raiders were negotiating for military help from the Basutos, proved unsuccessful. The Transvaal republics never had the funds necessary for defence or good government because the burghers objected to paying taxes. In 1877, when the government of President Burgers at Pretoria was on the verge of insolvency, and threatened by an overwhelming Zulu invasion, the Transvaal was peacefully annexed by the British, and administered by them till the first Boer War in 1881.

The Boer Conquest of Natal, 1838. The third stream of voor-trekkers dropped down over the Drakensberg passes from the Free State territory into Natal. Most of them used Bushman's Pass on the Basutoland border of Natal, and Van Reenen's Pass, through which the railway now runs from Ladysmith to Harrismith in the Free State. While these voor-trekkers grazed their cattle on the terraces watered by the Tugela and its tributaries, in a green land of promise which is still a constant delight to a traveller from the brown interior, their leader, Piet Retief, entered into negotiations for territorial rights with the Zulu king, Dingaan. Dingaan was friendly at first, and gave Retief a charter which ignored an earlier treaty, by which his predecessor Chaka had in 1828 ceded territory extending inland for one hundred miles from the sea to the English settlers in Durban (see p. 162). Chaka had been murdered by his brother Dingaan just after signing this

treaty. Had he lived the history of Natal might have been very different, for, though he could at any time have eaten up our little settlement at Durban, he never offered violence to white men. He seems to have realized, like Hyder Ali of Mysore, the meaning of sea-power, and to have almost welcomed the prospects of European trade and settlement in the districts he had devastated. Dingaan was less enlightened; when news reached him of more and more wagons crossing the Berg into Natal he became alarmed, and treacherously planned to exterminate the invaders before they became too numerous. He enticed Piet Retief and sixty more leading Boers to visit his 'Great Place', in Zululand, and while they were watching unarmed a war-dance arranged for their entertainment, he called on his dancing warriors to 'kill the wizards'; none escaped. Dingaan's impis then took many of the settlers in Natal by surprise; Weenen, 'weeping', the name of a small town in Natal, recalls to this day how six hundred men, women, and children fell before them. They failed, however, to rush the main Boer laager (fortified encampment) on the Bushman River, where, behind an encircling rampart of wagons, the Boer women for hours reloaded and handed muskets to their men, till they were too hot to hold and were used as clubs in hand-to-hand fighting. Reinforcements came from over the Berg, and on December 16, 1838, Dingaan's Day (still celebrated yearly by the Dutch of South Africa as a national holiday), a small force of mounted Boers completely routed Dingaan's army. Two years later he was dethroned by Panda, an ally of the Boers, and driven out of Zululand.

The Republic of Natalia, 1838-45. Meanwhile the Boers had founded the city of Pietermaritzburg, and established the short-lived independent Republic of Natalia. They felt that they had fought for the land and won it, and that the English Government had renounced all claim to Natal by refusing to annex the Durban settlement in 1836, and by withdrawing a

small detachment of troops which had landed there in 1838 to protect the English settlers.

British Annexation of Natal, 1845. The Colonial Office became alarmed at the establishment of a Boer Republic on the coast, and refused to recognize its independence. It informed the Boers that they were still British subjects, sent troops to Durban, and after some fighting occupied it and Pietermaritzburg. In 1845 Natal was annexed by Great Britain as a dependency of Cape Colony. This was bitterly resented by the Boers ; only a few hundred of them remained in Natal, the rest loaded their wagons as in 1836, and treked over the Berg to rejoin their friends in the Free State and Transvaal. Here, as in Basutoland, and in the Transvaal later, we took from the Boers what they felt they had fairly earned by fighting. The loss of Natal was never forgiven us. Later on, in 1884, when the Transvaal Republic found the need of a sea-port, and we checked their plans for reaching the sea through Zululand, this old grievance rankled deeper and deeper.

Responsible Government in Natal, 1893, and the Cape in 1872. Natal became a separate Crown Colony with a Governor and a Legislative Council in 1856 ; it received responsible government in 1893. The white population increased very slowly, but did so steadily after 1860, when sugar on the coast, and wool on the upper terraces, became the chief products. A very large native population flowed in from Zululand and other Kaffir territories, so that native administration has always been a specially difficult question for statesmen in Natal. Natal was till 1907 the last and smallest of the British colonies to obtain responsible government. Her responsibilities were greatly increased after 1897, when the administration of Zululand, in the hands of the Colonial Office since 1879, was transferred to the Natal Government.

We have noticed in Chapter V the readiness shown by English governments after Lord Durham's report on Canada

in 1839, to confer responsible government on colonies as soon as they became fit for it. It was pressed on Cape Colony for several years before people there desired it. Representative government was introduced in 1853, responsible government in 1872. In the Cape the bold step was taken from the first of admitting Kaffirs on the same terms as white men to the franchise, which depended on a low property qualification. This concession was made possible, as in the case of the New Zealand Maoris, by the existence of a large white population. In Natal, where the Kaffir population outnumbers the white by ten to one, it has unfortunately been impossible to concede the franchise to Kaffirs, and they were only indirectly and inadequately represented in the Natal Legislatures.

Annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. Our annexation of the Transvaal Republic in 1877 is a landmark in South African history. It has been condemned as a high-handed act of aggression, yet at the time it roused little opposition, for it seemed the only way to save the Transvaal from anarchy and a Zulu invasion, which would have had disastrous consequences on the rest of South Africa.

President Burgers, an energetic, upright man, and an ex-clergyman of the Dutch Church, had, by his unorthodox religious views, roused the bitter opposition of the 'Dopper Party',¹ headed by Paul Kruger. Burgers is said to have lost the confidence of hundreds of his compatriots by denying that the devil wore the tail with which he was always depicted in the old-fashioned Dutch Bibles. Kruger and his friends for a time joined a considerable pro-English party who aimed at bringing about annexation by preventing every attempt at reform, by encouraging people to pay no taxes, and so bringing government to a standstill. Three thousand burghers actually signed petitions asking for annexation

¹ The Dopper Church was that to which Kruger and his conservative friends belonged. The Dopper Party was the ultra-conservative political party.

shortly before the annexation took place. A Boer newspaper declared 'About three months ago we said we would prefer confederation under the British flag, if the state of anarchy then threatening were to continue. We know that a good and stable government is better than anarchy any day.' In his last presidential address, Burgers said some bitter but true things to the Volksraad (Parliament) at Pretoria, 'I would rather be a policeman under a strong government than President of such a State. It is you—you members of the Raad and the Boers—who have lost the country, sold your independence for a soupe (a drink). You have illtreated the natives, you have shot them down, and now you have to pay the penalty ;' . . . ' If they asked him what prevented the people from remaining independent, he answered that the Republic was itself the obstruction owing to the inherent incapacity and weakness of the people. . . . they were completely demoralized ; they had lost faith in God, reliance in themselves, or trust in each other, hence he believed they were inherently weak.' . . . ' They must not underrate their real and many difficulties. He could point to the south-west border, the Zulus, the gold-fields and other questions, and show them that it was their duty to come to an agreement with the British Government and to do so in a bold and manly manner.'

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, an able Natal colonist, who had many friends among the Dutch, was sent by the British Government to Pretoria, escorted only by twenty-five policemen, with instructions to examine into the condition of the country and annex it to the British Crown, if he thought this step necessary and was satisfied that the majority of the inhabitants would approve. It is an historical fact that the majority did, at the time at any rate, approve of the annexation. The day before the annexation Shepstone sent warning to Cetywayo (who had succeeded Panda as King of the Zulus, and had recently revived Chaka's military system), that the Transvaal was about to pass under British sovereignty, and

received the following reply, 'I thank my father Somtseu (Shepstone) for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them once, only once, and drive them over the Vaal. You see my impis are gathered. It was to fight the Dutch I called them together. Now I will send them back to their houses.' Yet the next landmark in South African history is our Zulu war of 1879.

The Zulu War of 1879 and subsequent History of the Zulu Nation. Cetywayo, who had always lived on good terms with the Natal Government, had not foreseen one consequence of our annexation of the Transvaal, a request from Sir Bartle Frere, our High Commissioner at the Cape, for disarmament of his impis, and stoppage of all military preparations. Sir Bartle Frere thus expressed his predicament in one of his private letters: 'The fact is, that, while the Boer Republic was a rival and semi-hostile power, it was a Natal weakness rather to pet the Zulus as one might pet a tame wolf, who only devoured one's neighbour's sheep; and now that both flocks belong to us we are rather embarrassed in stopping the wolf's ravages.' Nevertheless, he decided it was his duty to disarm the Zulu nation, and, on Cetywayo's natural refusal to disarm, he declared war with the consent of Lord Beaconsfield's Government in England, and sent British troops into Zululand. We suffered defeat in our first battle with the Zulus, and Natal was only saved from the horrors of a Zulu invasion by the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo River, which forms, with the Tugela, the historic boundary between Zululand and Natal. In the end modern rifles prevailed over the weapons of savages; Cetywayo was captured, and his forces dispersed. Zululand was ruled by thirteen tribal chiefs till 1883, when Cetywayo was restored, but he had lost his prestige and failed to assert his authority. Between 1887 and 1897 Zululand was successfully administered through a resident Commissioner by the Colonial Office.

172 British Empire in South Africa

After 1897 it was joined to Natal, and in 1906 the Natal Government had to put down a widespread Kaffir rebellion, which Dinizulu, Cetywayo's son, who had been deported and allowed to return to Zululand, was generally believed to have fomented. The small community of about 50,000 Europeans in Natal had too heavy a responsibility in the administration of Zululand, as well as of the 500,000 natives in Natal proper. Both Zululand and Natal probably gained when, in 1910, the Union of South Africa became responsible for administering Zululand.

The First Boer War, 1880. Sir Bartle Frere's determination to disarm the Zulu nation may have been necessary for the safety of white races in South Africa : its effect on the Transvaal Boers, whose territory we had annexed in 1877, was disastrous. To use his own metaphor, after the Zulu wolf had been tamed, they no longer needed and came to dislike the British watch-dog.

Besides removing the Zulu menace, we made two fatal blunders in our management of the Transvaal ; we replaced Sir Theophilus Shepstone by a tactless military officer, and appointed other unsuitable officials who did not know the people or their language ; and we culpably delayed the fulfilment of a promise made by Shepstone to convene a Volksraad and introduce local self-government. Kruger, even while holding office under the British administration, led an active agitation for repeal of annexation. Impatient at its failure, he, with Pretorius and Joubert, declared a republic, called out commandoes (militia), beleaguered small British garrisons in the interior, and marched to the Natal border, where he met an inadequate British force sent to relieve them. Most of our colonial wars have begun with reverses due to mismanagement, and this was no exception. We were defeated at Majuba Hill and in other minor engagements. Reinforcements were on their way to the front and could easily have retrieved this disaster, but before they could be used, the British Government conceded

nearly all Boer demands and restored the independence of the Transvaal. Our withdrawal from the Transvaal after Majuba is the most notorious and mischievous instance of the harm done in South Africa by British party politics, and of the sudden changes they sometimes produced in our colonial policy. In 1879 Sir Garnet Wolseley, speaking as High Commissioner of South Africa, and with the approval of the British Government, had promised that 'as long as the sun shone the British flag would fly over the Transvaal'. But in 1880 a general election had just taken place in England resulting in a Liberal victory and the fall of Lord Beaconsfield's administration, which during the last six years had followed a strong, and rather aggressive imperial policy in South Africa, Egypt, and Afghanistan (see Chapter VII, p. 141). Mr. Gladstone, the new Prime Minister, had in his electioneering speeches vigorously condemned his predecessor's forward policy, and honestly believed that the restoration of Boer independence in the Transvaal was a necessary act of justice; but the time he chose for this act of generosity, which would have done no harm a year sooner or later, was singularly unfortunate. It destroyed the loyalty to England of many Englishmen as well as Boers, lowered our prestige throughout South Africa, and caused the next generation of Boers to regard us as fools and cowards.

The Second Transvaal Republic, 1880-99. The first agreement between the Boers and the British Government after Majuba recognized the Transvaal as an independent republic, but retained British suzerainty (i. e. overlordship or general control), guaranteed fair treatment of natives, and forbade the new republic to make treaties with native tribes or foreign governments. A later Convention of London in 1884 removed the former restrictions as to foreign treaties and management of natives, and made no mention of British suzerainty, the existence of which the Boers denied later, though we continued to claim it.

Kruger was elected President in 1882, and re-elected in

1888 and 1893 ; during the whole life of the republic his influence was paramount. The population at first consisted of about 50,000 Boer farmers, who showed themselves no more ready to pay taxes than in the past. The republic was gradually slipping into its former insolvent condition when its financial difficulties ended with the discoveries of gold around Johannesburg in 1884-5, and the influx of a large number of foreign taxpayers. These people became known as Uitlanders (foreigners), and eventually outnumbered the Boers. Their arrival introduced a new crop of difficulties for the Boer Government. Kruger met them by a policy of racial domination, instead of equal rights, and determined to deny the Uitlanders, who were mostly Americans or English, any political power. They could not get the Transvaal franchise (right to vote in elections for the Volksraad or Parliament), until they had lived in the country and paid taxes for ten years. For the most part they had no wish for British rule in the Transvaal, but they agitated vigorously for the franchise in order to get a better government, for the mining industry was hampered and their lives made uncomfortable by a number of annoying restrictions which they could not persuade the Boer Government to alter. They were keen business men exploiting a profitable industry, and naturally did not want revolution, but reform.

Their chief grievances may be briefly enumerated as follows :

(a) The franchise laws.

(b) Monopolies. Kruger gave certain private individuals the exclusive right of selling dynamite (the first necessity for mining operations), spirits, sugar, jam, and paper.

(c) Kruger's railway policy. The Netherlands Railway constructed by the Transvaal Government from Delagoa Bay in Portuguese territory to Pretoria was completed in 1895 ; its freight was high, and railways from Durban and the Cape were discouraged.

(d) A high tariff on all goods from the Cape, and the closing of the drifts or fords over the Vaal, so that goods could not enter the country from the south even by ox-wagon.

(e) Educational grievances. Government provided only a paltry sum for education, and discouraged the teaching of the English language. Though the Uitlanders provided nine-tenths of the State revenues, their children had to be educated entirely by private subscriptions.

(f) The liquor law. By the reckless grant of licences to liquor houses, the natives were encouraged to drink the bad spirits manufactured by the lucky holders of the spirits monopoly (see b). Not only the health and morals of the natives, but the supply and quality of labour for the mines suffered in consequence.

(g) Heavy taxes and wasteful and corrupt expenditure. The increasing and unnecessary number of well-paid officials was a common scandal, e. g. in 1886 Government spent only £51,831; in 1899 they budgeted for £1,216,344 to be spent on the salaries of officials.

The reform of these grievances would have meant the fall of Kruger's government, for its continuance came to depend largely on government patronage, i. e. the bestowal of posts and monopolies. An enlightened Boer party, headed by Joubert, favoured reform, and Joubert would have replaced Kruger as President in the 1893 election if the votes had been fairly counted. Owing to the lack of educated men in his own party, Kruger employed many Dutchmen from Europe as his officials, and so further lost the confidence of his fellow countrymen, but his astuteness, his command of the State money, and the support of the bigoted 'Dopper' party¹ kept him in power till the end of the republic.

¹ Few people realize how narrow-minded and ignorant were many members of the Volksraad to whom fate had given complete political power over a highly modern and cosmopolitan community of merchants. The Volksraad once discussed a law to forbid the killing of locusts, because, as one member said, 'They were a plague as in the days of

In 1894 a monster petition for extension of the franchise signed by over 35,000 Uitlanders was discussed in the Volksraad, but, in spite of the warmly expressed sympathy of the more liberal members, was rejected. It was after this rebuff that the more restless of the 'Johannesburg reformers' began to think of revolution, and to collect arms.

Johannesburg Reformers and the Jameson Raid. In spite of their numbers the chance of successful rebellion seemed small, for few of them were skilled, like the Boers, in the use of weapons, and they could not drill openly without arousing suspicion. They therefore asked Dr. Jameson, the brother of one of the reformers and an official of the British South African Company,¹ which since 1889 had been administering Rhodesia, to come to their assistance with some of the Company's mounted police. This plot was muddled, and ended in the complete failure it merited. Jameson started with 480 men before he was wanted, and in spite of two messages from the leading Johannesburg reformers, who complained later 'that he insisted on rescuing them whether they wanted to be rescued or not', and

Pharaoh sent by God, and the country would assuredly be loaded with shame and obloquy if it tried to raise its hand against the mighty hand of the Almighty.' Another law was discussed to forbid firing at the clouds to bring down rain, because 'people should not be permitted to mock the Almighty in this manner'.

¹ The British South African Company obtained by charter in 1888 the right (subject to general control by the Secretary for the Colonies) to govern Mashonaland; after a war with the Matabele in 1894 Matabeleland was added, with Dr. Jameson as administrator. In 1895 the Company's territory received the name of Rhodesia after one of its founders, Cecil Rhodes, who in 1896 stopped another war by going unarmed amongst the Matabele in the Matoppos Mountains to arrange terms. Rhodes has been described as 'a unique combination of the financier and the idealist'. He devoted his great wealth, derived from the Kimberley mines, to realizing his dream of a South Africa where all white races should receive equal treatment under the British flag. He was the great opponent of Kruger's plans for Dutch racial dominion in South Africa. He was popular with the Dutch at the Cape and was a successful Prime Minister. The great mistake of his career was to encourage projects for armed interference and violent revolution in the Transvaal.

in spite of orders to return telegraphed from the British High Commissioner at the Cape, he pressed on to within twenty miles of Johannesburg, telling every one he met that he ' had no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal ; but we are here in reply to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand to assist them in their demand for justice and the ordinary rights of a civilized state.'

After meeting superior Boer forces, and losing a number of killed and wounded, his men laid down their arms. Jameson's raid was an inexcusable outrage, resembling in many points that led by Kruger and Pretorius into the Free State in 1857 (see p. 166). Though the British Government had no connexion with the outrage, the world did not believe in the British Government's innocence. The German Emperor sent a telegram congratulating President Kruger on repelling the raid ' without the aid of friendly powers ' ; the sympathies of most civilized nations became pro-Boer and anti-British ; Joubert and the ' progressive ' Transvaal Boers became our enemies and supported Kruger ; worst of all, we lost the friendship of the Free State burghers, who had remained neutral during the war of 1880.

Defensive Alliance between Transvaal and Free State, 1897. In 1897 President Kruger visited Bloemfontein and negotiated a defensive alliance between the two republics. This completed the preparations which he had long been making for a war which would ' push the British into the sea ', or at least secure Dutch supremacy in South Africa. He had hesitated to commit himself to this great venture till he had secured the Free State alliance, and sympathy, if not active help, from Germany. The most pacific English Government could hardly have avoided the coming contest, and Lord Salisbury's administration (1895-1902), of which Mr. Chamberlain was Colonial Secretary, was not inclined to sacrifice British prestige and British rights to an uncertain peace.

178 British Empire in South Africa

Sir Alfred Milner, our High Commissioner at the Cape, met Mr. Kruger at Bloemfontein in 1899 to discuss the questions of the Transvaal franchise and British suzerainty, but no agreement was reached. We began at last to prepare on our side for war by sending reinforcements to the Cape, and by placing the few troops we had in South Africa near the Transvaal frontier. Kruger, determined not to lose the advantage of superior preparation, sent an ultimatum requiring us to withdraw all troops from the frontiers. His demands were refused, and the Transvaal forces invaded Natal in October 1899.

Causes of the Great Boer War, 1899-1902. The failure of negotiations can be explained in a few words: *both sides wanted to fight.* Their reasons may here be briefly recapitulated.

The Boers have long memories for a grievance; they remembered how we had set free their slaves, and given up their country beyond the Great Fish River to the Kaffirs in 1834; how we had annexed Natal in 1842; how we had left the Free State burghers to cope with the Basutos in 1852 and robbed them of the fruits of their victory over the Basutos in 1868; how we had annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and weakly abandoned it after military defeat in 1880; how we had prevented their reaching the sea through Zululand in 1884, and in the same year checked their advance in Bechuanaland by establishing a protectorate over that country; how we had pestered their Government with vexatious demands since 1880, and raised armed rebellion and raided their peaceful and friendly country in 1896.

The British grievances were mainly those of the Uitlanders already enumerated, but behind them lay the desire to wipe out the disgrace of Majuba, and an instinctive belief that the day had come to decide finally the question of British or Boer supremacy in South Africa.

The War of 1899-1902. The war lasted two and a half years and cost us over two hundred million pounds.

We had under-estimated the Boers' military preparations and efficiency, and made a mistake in trying to hold both the Cape Colony and Natal frontiers in 1899 with the small forces at our disposal. The Boers were soon besieging British forces shut up in Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking. They pushed far down into Natal and threatened Pietermaritzburg, but dared not leave Ladysmith untaken behind them. Most of the Boer forces were engaged in besieging the three towns mentioned, and it was the resistance of these towns which alone saved Cape Colony from invasion. The tide turned in our favour after January 1900, when Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener landed at Cape Town, and had an adequate supply of troops at their disposal. The first period of the war, during which the Boers seemed to have some chance of success, ended in June 1900, after the relief of Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and Lord Roberts' entry into Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The second half of the war from June 1900 till June 1902, consisted of protracted and wearisome guerrilla fighting (i. e. war waged by small bodies of troops acting independently), remarkable for the fine generalship and stubborn resistance of three Boer generals, Botha, de Wet, and de la Rey, and for a series of 'drives' conducted so skilfully by Lord Kitchener that the last Boers under arms had finally to submit to our superior numbers.

On May 31, 1902, peace was signed and the Transvaal and Free State were turned into crown colonies with Lord Milner as joint Governor.

The Importance of the Boer War. We made many military blunders during this war, and the long resistance of two small republics against our great Empire won them even more general sympathy than Jameson's Raid had done. The British Empire had never been so severely tested since the War of American Independence. The danger did not lie in the actual strength of the two republics but in the strength and number of their friends; Germany seemed

on the verge of giving them open help, and would probably have done so if our Empire had shown signs of collapse, or if her own military and naval preparations had been more advanced. The Empire was united by this common danger as never before : large volunteer contingents from Canada, Australia, and every part of the Queen's dominions poured into South Africa to help the troops from Great Britain. The general readiness of our self-governing colonies to help in crushing the Boer Republics surprised foreign observers as well as many Englishmen, who regarded the war as an unjustifiable attempt to crush a weak but patriotic nation for the sake of its gold mines. The fact that we were supporting the claims of rich mining companies against farmers helped this point of view. But even rich capitalists and miners have their rights, and the real issue was between the Boer ideal of racial dominion and the British ideal of equal political rights. In other words it was a war between racialism and democracy : the support of democratic Canada, New Zealand, and Australia showed that they realized the issue. They supported the British Empire when they saw it threatened, because they believed it stood for democracy.

Responsible Government in Transvaal and Free State after 1907. After victory we made no attempt to establish our racial ascendancy in South Africa, though most British residents in the country expected it. The democratic, non-racial character of our settlement after the war surprised the world, and did much to lessen the bitterness of defeat to the Boers. When peace was made we pledged ourselves to grant representative government as soon as practicable. We did better than our promise. After only four years of Lord Milner's temporary administration, we gave full responsible government to both the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, which regained its old name of the Orange Free State. The franchise was granted, after only six months' residence, on equal terms to both Boers and Britons, who were left to work together and make the best

of one another. This experiment, the work of the Liberal Government which took office after a general election in 1906, carried out the wishes of the majority of voters in England, but was generally condemned as rash especially by those Englishmen in South Africa and elsewhere who still hankered after racial ascendancy. It certainly destroyed any chance of British ascendancy in South Africa, for the Boer voters there outnumbered the British.

It remains for time to prove whether the Liberal Government of 1907 was wise or not in granting responsible government to the Free State and Transvaal. Their chief justification has been the Union of South Africa in 1910, the next landmark in her history.

The Union, 1910. Political union of the four colonies had long been needed to end the inter-colonial squabbles about customs and railways, to work out a consistent and just 'native policy', more secure from English interference than the actions of the Natal colonial Government had proved, and to face the difficult question of Asiatic immigration. Preliminary steps towards union had been taken in 1903, when the Transvaal and Orange River Colony placed the management of their railways under an inter-colonial council, and in 1906 by the formation of a South African Customs Union. In the same year a memorandum, which may fitly be compared to Lord Durham's report on Canada in 1838, was prepared at the request of the Premier of Cape Colony by Lord Selborne, the High Commissioner. It convinced the people of South Africa of the necessity of early union. In 1908 the four colonial parliaments appointed delegates to meet in a national convention which sat at Durban and Cape Town, and to draft a constitution, and this constitution, after amendments proposed by the colonial parliaments, was finally accepted by all of them. It differs widely from that of the Commonwealth of Australia, a loose confederation of States, and it centralizes authority even more closely than that of the Dominion of Canada,

182 British Empire in South Africa

a strongly bound confederation. The South African provinces have now no separate governors; their provincial councils only deal with elementary education and other local matters; the Union Parliament is paramount in every respect. A strong central government was much more possible in South Africa, owing to its smaller area, than in the other Dominions, and (owing to the large Kaffir and Indian population) was deemed necessary by the framers of the Constitution.

South Africa since the Union. Effect of the Great War. The Great European War had not been foreseen by those who gave South Africa responsible government in 1907 and Union in 1910. It came as an unfair and unforeseen test of the Union, and not only deferred the solution of pressing domestic difficulties, but resulted in agitation, interference with recruiting, and open rebellion on the part of the Dutch Nationalist Party. This party is not satisfied with equal rights for Dutch and English, but still clings to Kruger's racial policy of 'South Africa for the Boers'. If the war had not threatened the Empire's existence and brought the question of 'oppressed nationalities' into prominence in connexion with Belgium, Roumania, and Serbia, racial jealousy, though deep in the heart of many Boers, would not have found open expression so soon, and might have disappeared in time before a wider sense of South African or imperial citizenship. Considering the recency of the Boer War, the South African Union has stood the test of the Great War with surprising firmness.

In September 1914 a special meeting of the Union Parliament declared its 'whole-hearted determination to maintain the security and integrity of the Empire', and decided to send an expedition to conquer German South West Africa. German bribes, German propaganda, and the nationalist minority's opposition to this project, caused a rebellion headed by General Beyers, who justified his action by sending General Botha, the Prime Minister, a letter sneering at England's

pretensions to defend the rights of small nationalities, and resigning his office of commander-in-chief of the Union forces. The ease and rapidity with which General Botha crushed the rebellion (it only lasted three months) increased his prestige, and he himself led the Union forces to German South West Africa, which, after hard fighting, they conquered without any help from imperial troops. South Africa was able to send large reinforcements to Europe, and to German East Africa, where the Boer General Smuts directed the successful operations of troops from India and other parts of the Empire. In spite of her internal troubles, South Africa continued to send men and supplies to Europe throughout the war, and could spare her two leading statesmen, Generals Botha and Smuts, for many months to help the councils of the Empire in London.

Three chief Internal Difficulties. The three chief difficulties facing the South African Union to-day are the attitude of the Nationalist Party, the Native Question, and the Question of Indian Immigration.

The Nationalist Party. In the year 1920 the Dutch Nationalist Party have lost the hope of the British Empire's disruption which stimulated their activities during the war. It seems possible, therefore, that they will learn in time to make the best of things, as minorities have to do all over the world. The existence of the Union is their chief obstacle, and makes it exceedingly difficult for them to frame any logical 'nationalist' scheme. For the people of the two Boer republics, with Cape Colony and Natal, willingly entered the Union, and the majority of them, Dutch or English, have found it too beneficial to wish to dissolve it. Nor are the majority ready to take the risks of separating the Union from the British Empire which offers it many advantages, evident even to the Africander whose interests do not extend outside his own country.

The Native Question. The native question has, as we have already remarked, been at the root of nearly all South

Africa's troubles. Its solution is the gravest and most difficult task before the Union, and the Union will eventually have to be judged by historians according to its success or failure in dealing with this problem. No sane men now desire, like the early missionaries, to raise the Kaffirs immediately to political equality with white men any more than they advocate selfish exploitation of natives such as the Boers favoured and the Germans pursued in South West Africa (see Chapter IX, pp. 192-3). The solution must lie between these two extremes, and will perhaps, to judge from the utterances of South African statesmen, be found in special native assemblies and native ministers, to whom the control of purely native affairs and native interests will be entrusted. The war has unfortunately prevented the Union from making experiments in this direction, or any comprehensive attempt to solve the problem. The natives of South Africa have, at any rate, remained peaceful and orderly, in spite of many trials, throughout the war, and have voluntarily provided large labour corps for service in France. There seems a better chance of a sound native policy being evolved under the Union Government than under colonial governments, for continuity of policy will now be more possible. The Colonial Office is not likely to interfere with the Union's native policy, whereas it constantly did interfere with that of the smaller colonial governments. Its interference was always intended to secure humane treatment and safeguard the rights of natives, and it was sometimes beneficial; but it was regarded by colonials as capricious, depended too much on party politics and changes of government, and prevented continuity and certainty of policy which are the first requisites for dealing with South African natives.

Indian Immigration. The wages paid by sugar and tea planters, as well as other farmers in Natal, have attracted many Indians to the country. It suited them, they prospered, and now outnumber the white population of Natal, and are

settled all over the Transvaal. They provide the Union with another intensely difficult problem. Many of these Indians have reached a high standard of civilization and education, and appear to be entitled to the same political rights as Europeans. The British fought the Boer War for this very principle of equal political rights, yet, by the irony of fate, they are now denying them in South Africa to fellow-citizens of the British Empire, though they concede them readily to foreigners.

The difficulty is of course, as in Australia, an economic one. The Indian thrives on what would starve the European, and so, as tradesman, shopkeeper, or artisan, he can easily sell at lower prices or accept lower wages than a European competitor, and so drive him from the country. This has happened already to many English shopkeepers in Natal and other parts of South Africa. If free immigration were admitted, the Indian population would inevitably increase at the expense of the European, and in the end the latter would be confined to higher administrative and commercial work as in India. Wherever British self-governing colonies have been threatened with this fate, i. e. in Australia, South Africa, and Western Canada, they have denied the claim of Asiatics to enter and settle in any British dominion by virtue of their citizenship of the Empire, and have asserted a counter-claim to determine the future development of their own countries by excluding any immigrants they consider undesirable. The imperial authorities, whose duty it is to watch the interests of the politically backward races of the Empire, have protested from time to time against colonial restrictions on Asiatic immigration, and have sometimes succeeded in getting them modified; but they are not likely to go much farther in the matter. On the important questions of foreign trade and tariffs, land settlement, and form of constitution, the Imperial Government has since the War of American Independence always given way whenever self-governing colonies insisted on taking their

186 British Empire in South Africa

own course ; it has recently promised them a share even in controlling the foreign and military policy of the Empire ; it is not likely to overrule any self-governing body which definitely insists on controlling its future development by means of immigration laws.

The Union authorities have at least shown in their treatment of this question more sympathy with Indians and more sense of their responsibility to the Empire than was shown by the colonial administrations which handled it before them. After consultation with the Government of India the Union arrived at a temporary adjustment of the difficulty in 1914, when the personal advocacy of Mr. Ghandi, a distinguished Indian social reformer who visited South Africa in that year, did much to prevent disorder among the Indian community, and to help the Union Government to a just decision.

Books recommended for further study.

South Africa and West Africa. Vols. IV and III of Sir Charles Lucas's Historical Geography of the Dominions. Clarendon Press.

Impressions of South Africa. Bryce 1896. Chapters I, VI, and VIII to XII.

Natal, the Land and its Story. Russel 1894 (possibly out of print).

Expansion of the British Empire. Woodward. Cambridge University Press. Chapter X.

The British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. Book IV.

The Transvaal from within. Fitzpatrick. Heinemann. Chapters I to VI and appendices.

A History of South Africa. Fairbridge. Oxford University Press.

South Africa, in Story of the Nation Series. Theal. Fisher Unwin.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, lives of Kruger and Rhodes.

Subjects for oral discussion or written composition.

1. Compare the effects of gold discovery in South Africa and Australia (vide Chapter VI, pp. 102-3).

2. Notice reasons for the delay in the granting of Responsible Government to our Australian and South African colonies.

British Empire in South Africa 187

3. Compare the constitutions of the Union of South Africa with those of the Dominion of Canada, and the Commonwealth of Australia, and note reasons for their difference.

4. Why has the ' native question ' become more difficult in South Africa than any other part of the Empire ? Has South African Union brought its satisfactory settlement any nearer ?

5. Write an essay on this quotation from Bryce's *Impressions of South Africa* : ' There are few places where recollections of the past are more powerful factors in the troubles of the present.'

6. Sketch the causes and some results of the Great Trek.

7. Trace the interconnexion between our annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, the Zulu war of 1879, and the first Boer War of 1880.

8. Sketch the rise and fall of the Zulu empire.

9. Read the lives of Paul Kruger and Cecil Rhodes in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or elsewhere and compare them.

10. Why did we give Responsible Government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1907 ? Mention some results of this action.

CHAPTER IX

MODERN IMPERIALISM

THE nineteenth century was remarkable for the growth of a number of powerful empires besides our own, and for new meanings which became attached to the old word empire.

Reasons for growth of Empires in the Nineteenth Century. One result of the industrial revolution (see Chapter IV, pp. 41-2) was economic distress, which led to emigration; another was increased exports, which sometimes caused the flag to follow trade and led to annexations. Such causes operated, though later and to a lesser extent, in other European countries besides ours. Rivalry and national pride were other motives urging them to expansion; these were strongest in Germany and Italy, for those two countries only attained their national unity in the second half of the nineteenth century, and their pride in this achievement made them anxious to extend their dominion over new territory.

New meanings attached to word 'Empire'. Imperialism came to acquire a new meaning owing to nobler conceptions of the duties of empire, which the British first dimly recognized, and at last definitely accepted and pursued. They will be explained more fully later in this chapter, but we may briefly state here that many Europeans, especially in England, learnt to regard empire as implying not domination, but trusteeship of two kinds; the first, which is now recognized more or less by all civilized empires, is trusteeship for the backward races they contain; the second, which so far is only recognized, and not very definitely, by the British Empire and the United States of America, is trusteeship for the rest of the civilized world.

Other Modern Empires. The Second French Colonial Empire. The fire of French national enterprise is not easily quenched. Only thirteen years after Waterloo had

destroyed almost the last traces of France's first colonial empire, her second began to grow ; it grew at first rather against her own inclinations and through force of circumstances, but, soon after her defeat by Germany in 1870, she found compensation outside Europe in more intentional and vigorous colonial enterprise.

In 1828 the outrages of pirates forced her to occupy certain Algerian ports : between 1828 and 1848 the anarchy of the interior led her systematically to conquer the whole of Algeria and turn it into part of the French Republic. ' In all the records of European imperialism there has been no conquest more completely justified by the events which led up to it, and by the results which have followed from it.'¹ Order and economic development, which had not existed there since the days of the Roman Empire, rapidly resulted in Algeria from the French occupation. In 1858, owing to outrages on Christian missionaries, France rather reluctantly interfered in Indo-China by making war on Annam and annexing Cochin-China. Between 1842 and 1855 she acquired some Pacific islands and annexed New Caledonia as a convict station.

After her defeat in 1870 she joined with energy and success in the general scramble for African hinterlands (see Chapter V, p. 52). She built an unprofitable railway from Djibuti in French Somaliland (acquired 1862) into Abyssinia in the hope of extending her influence there. From Senegal, almost the last relic of her first colonial empire, she pushed her way to the Upper Niger, and the French Soudan ; in 1898 a meeting between French and English troops at Fashoda in the Sudan near the borders of their respective spheres of influence nearly caused an Anglo-French war. Anarchy in Morocco, a bad neighbour for orderly and progressive Algeria, aroused first British then German protests, and in 1911 nearly brought about the Great European War three years before its time ; France's right to predominant

¹ Ramsay Muir, *Expansion of Europe*, p. 82.

interest in Morocco is now recognized, and practically the whole of north-west Africa is regarded as her sphere of influence. The extension of her control in Indo-China over Annam and far up the Mekong valley was one reason for our annexation of Upper Burma in 1886. She deliberately set about the conquest of Madagascar, which became a French protectorate after 1888, and a French colony after 1895.

In 1914 the French colonial Empire was more extensive than that of any European Power except Great Britain. The population of France itself (39,600,509) was then exceeded by that of her colonies and protectorates (44,653,650).

In Algeria, her best colony, France has a magnificent record, but in others her work has been less admirable. In Madagascar the pacification of her conquered territory has been slow and economic progress disappointing. The reluctance of Frenchmen to leave their mother-country accounts for both the chief weaknesses in the French colonial system, the absence of true colonization, and an inferior civil service.

In her administration of dependencies France has never pretended to act as a trustee for other civilized races. She has, for example, systematically discouraged foreign trade by customs duties, and by various restrictions prevented foreign miners or farmers from settling in her colonies (where Frenchmen will not settle), and so retarded their economic development. She has, however, conscientiously undertaken the other kind of imperial trusteeship, government in the interests of backward races. She has administered her dependencies with sympathy and regard for indigenous customs and religions; she has spent large sums on education and useful public works, and governed each dependency with a view to the present and future welfare of its inhabitants.

The Russian Empire. In 1914 Russia's territory extended

farther without a break than that of any other empire, not excepting the United States of America, and her population, 164,828,800, far exceeded that of the United States. From the seventeenth century till recent times her expansion towards China and Central Asia went steadily on through a gradual process of penetration and colonization unattended by big wars or victories; her own semi-Asiatic population readily assimilated the weak Asiatic tribes whose country they occupied; Russia had to wage no wars of Asiatic conquest till she subjugated (1848 to 1876) the Mohammedan Khanates of Turkestan, nor had she any foreign rivals to contend with until she alarmed Japan and Great Britain by reaching the Pacific and the borders of Afghanistan.

Her weakness lay in the absence of winter ports, in her failure to assimilate the Turkoman races, and in her central government, which was inefficient, corrupt, and tyrannical, and neglected education, roads, and railways. These weaknesses kept her back in the race for civilization, and caused her to collapse unexpectedly in the Japanese War of 1904-5 and in the Great War of 1914-18. After a revolution in 1917 the Russian Empire fell to pieces, and its future is still uncertain.

The German Colonial Empire. In 1914 Germany had a home population of 64,903,423, and a population of 13,946,200 in her colonies and dependencies. The area of her dependencies was much larger than European Germany, but only a fifth of the size of the French colonial empire. They comprised German South-West Africa, German East Africa, Togoland, the Cameroons, Kaiser William's Land in New Guinea, and the adjacent Bismarck Archipelago, and Kiau-Chau.

Most of this considerable empire was acquired in three years, between 1884 and 1887, by treaty between German agents and African chiefs, without fighting, and without any objection from other European Powers. England might have raised a prior claim to every one of Germany's

African acquisitions, but our Foreign Secretary stated in 1885 that we 'viewed with favour their schemes, the realization of which would entail the civilization of large tracts over which hitherto no European influence had been exercised'; and Prince Lichnowsky, German ambassador in London in 1914, has proved in his recently published memoir how friendly the British Government remained, until just before the war, to German colonial development.

Germany had felt no need of an empire before 1883; she felt no pressing need of one then. The chief motives of her empire-builders were national pride and imitative rivalry. The German colonies became useful sources of raw materials for the home country, but, in spite of state encouragement and a continuous flow of German emigration to Canada and the United States of America, they never attracted German colonists. Though the Germans, more wise in this than France, encouraged foreign trade, and though they took care to secure cheap native labour, not one of their colonies paid its way.

Though the German colonial empire had been so peacefully attained, its short thirty years' story is packed with horror and bloodshed. Native rebellions and their suppression followed one another in Germany's African possessions with monotonous regularity.¹

The German dependencies would have been better for more colonists and fewer officials and soldiers; their country was over-administered; they governed systematically and scientifically, but showed little sympathy with their subjects, and no regard for native customs; they exacted forced labour, and denied that a black man had any rights. They were coldly efficient, pursued what they called a 'healthy egoism',

¹ The native tribes in the Cameroons, though they had repeatedly asked for British protection, liked German rule so little that the Germans had to send forty-six punitive expeditions against them in seven years. The warlike Herero nation in German South-West Africa was deliberately annihilated after over four years' hard fighting.

and discouraged 'humanitarianism and irrational sentimentality'.

In other words the German imperial system was the clean negation of the modern principle of trusteeship, and reflected no principle but selfish domination resting on superior force or cunning. It had, though its life was short, a baneful influence on others. The Belgians imitated it in their Congo territories. Even in British South Africa it probably did a good deal to render the relations between black and white races more difficult.¹ Germany's reputation for education and culture made her example the more dangerous. Her imperialism became an ugly and harmful influence, the more so because of her declared intention and active efforts to extend her Empire.

After unsuccessful attempts (see Lichnowsky) to acquire part of the Belgian Congo and Portuguese East Africa by purchase she turned her attention to other parts of the world. In the Far East she acquired Kiau-Chau, but was checked from further advance by an Anglo-Japanese alliance. The Monroe doctrine (see p. 195) kept her out of South America, and her plans to purchase the Dutch East Indies made little progress. Hence her last and greatest scheme of expansion, the formation of a 'Middle-Europe State', extending to the Persian Gulf, at the expense of the Balkan States and Turkey. This scheme, grandiose as it seems, came near success because it fitted in with Germany's military strategy, and because the allied navies could do little to check it. The arrogance and want of tact shown by German officers in dealing with their Turkish allies was one of the chief causes of its failure.

The Congo Free State. This large territory, with a population of about 15,000,000, was opened for European occupation by geographical discoveries financed by Leopold II,

¹ The present writer, during a two years' residence in South Africa before the year 1906, sometimes heard Englishmen, as well as Boers, speak with approval of 'the sensible German native policy which a Kaffir can understand'.

King of the Belgians. Until his death in 1908 it was administered by an 'international African association', a commercial company which delegated all its authority to King Leopold. He did not govern as a trustee for civilization or for backward races, but in the interests of the shareholders of the association, among whom he was the chief. The Belgian Congo got a bad name for forced labour, for brutalities, and cruel exploitation. For this the people and government of Belgium were not responsible. The control of the Belgian Congo passed to the Belgian Government on Leopold's death in 1908, since when its administration and the treatment of its natives have greatly improved.

The Italian Colonial Empire. Italy had to fight Austria for her national unity, and won it with sensational rapidity between the years 1860 and 1870. Her new-born national pride insisted, like Germany's, on colonial expansion, and she first turned her attention to the Red Sea coast and its hinterland. In 1885 she annexed Eritrea, and in 1889 proclaimed a protectorate over Abyssinia, but, after being completely defeated by the Abyssinians at Adowa in 1896, she has been confined to her coastal settlements. Her designs for expansion in Tripoli have been checked by Turkey. Italy's imperial adventures have been so unsuccessful that she has had little opportunity so far of showing how she would use imperial responsibility. She has only been mentioned here as another example of national pride seeking expression in empire, a tendency dangerously common during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Japan. Japan is the only example during modern times of non-European nationality insisting on imperial expansion on a grand scale. Hers is an island empire; her people call their three central islands the mainland, and these islands alone send representatives to the Japanese Parliament. Hokkaido, Formosa, and Korea are considered dependencies, and are ruled by Japanese governors. Korea, which had been an independent monarchy for centuries, was annexed

by Japan in 1910. The Japanese have not yet accorded the Koreans any measure of self-government or shown much regard for Korean nationality. The Japanese have assimilated and adopted many western ideas, but have been slow to accept the idea of trusteeship for backward races as an obligation of empire. In August 1919, however, Japan promised the Koreans much more liberal treatment.

United States of America as an Imperial Power. Though she had acquired Alaska by purchase from Russia in 1867, the United States regarded the European competition for empire with disapproval, and until 1898 clung to a policy of isolation. She not only resisted the temptation to step in and administer any of the weak and disorderly republics which, after the decay of the Spanish Empire, had appeared in Central and South America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but, by the enunciation of the Monroe doctrine in 1823, she had made it clear that she would oppose by force of arms if necessary, any European power which attempted to interfere with the independence of these new republics. She did not want empire herself, and regarded the motives of European empire-builders with suspicion.

Spanish-American War of 1898. But empire was thrust upon her by the Spanish-American War of 1898, which arose from Spain's mismanagement of Cuba (a large island close to the United States, where Americans had many business interests), and from American sympathy with the Cubans' struggle for independence. During this war the United States easily drove the Spaniards out of Cuba, the Philippines, and Porto Rico, the last vestiges of their once splendid empire. They also annexed the Hawaiian group of islands in the Pacific, which had applied for annexation ten years before.

Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii. After the war had ended in Spain's complete defeat, the case of Cuba was simple, for the American Congress had declared before war began that 'the people of Cuba were and of right ought to be free

and independent'. After a short military occupation the Americans handed over this island in 1901 to an independent Cuban Republic under American protection; they were compelled by internal disorders to take control of Cuba again during 1906-9, and they intervened again in 1917 to help the Cuban Government put down a revolt caused by an election, but they have never contemplated anything more than a temporary occupation of this island.

They have, however, retained control of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii from 1899 to this day, because the natives of these islands were not considered capable of self-government or self-defence, and because the Americans were unwilling to see them fall under the dominion of any of the other great powers who might, according to American opinion, have governed them as selfishly and unsympathetically as Spain had done.

Porto Rico and Hawaii are now classed as 'territories' of the United States, which are all administered by governors appointed by the President, but possess their own elected legislatures. They are apparently being trained for statehood within the United States, and according to all precedent will in time attain it, for nearly all the present States, except the original thirteen, have passed through the same preparatory stage as territories. Hawaii and Porto Rico have benefited greatly by the American connexion, and have shown no wish to sever it.¹

The Philippines. American aims there. The Philippine Islands, on the other hand, have been classed as 'dependencies', and are being trained for complete independence. They were in 1899 and remain to-day a much more difficult problem. They are numerous, far distant from America, and, though, owing to the activities of Spanish missionaries, the majority of the natives are Christian, they contain

¹ The U.S.A. possesses three other dependencies, Guam and Tutuila (Samoa) in the Pacific, and three of the Virgin Islands (or Danish West Indies), and also exercises a form of Protectorate over Cuba, San Domingo, and Panama.

many different races, religions, and languages. The United States after 1899 undertook the apparently impossible task of turning this medley of scattered races into a nation capable of managing its own affairs. President MacKinley stated in 1899 that the purpose of American occupation was 'to give the blessings of peace and individual freedom to the Philippine people', and he sent out the first Philippine Commission in 1901 'as bearers of the goodwill, the protection, and the richest blessings of, a liberating rather than a conquering nation'. These promises have often been repeated later, and they have been conscientiously and ably carried out.

The Americans have pinned their faith in the Philippines to popular education and local self-government, and they claim to have obtained through them remarkable and rapid success in training the Filipino for citizenship. Like the English in India, they have made English the *lingua franca* or common language, and have introduced local self-government before attempting to nationalize the central government, but in both these directions they have made much more rapid progress (at least among the Christian population of the Philippines), than was possible in India. Special attention has been paid to spreading the knowledge of the English language, and American teachers were liberally provided until native teachers could be trained to replace them. During recent years technical education has been so successfully developed in the Philippines as to arouse interest and imitation in many parts of the world.

The archipelago was soon divided into thirty-eight provinces, each with its own elected governor, and over one thousand municipalities; these provinces and municipalities were allowed very wide control over local affairs.

The development of local self-government and popular education are the most strikingly successful features of America's work in the Philippines. Her efforts to introduce by degrees a popular and national central government are

of special interest to any student of tropical dependencies and must therefore be noticed in rather more detail.

Gradual Advance towards a National Central Government. The attempt of a section of the islanders to establish a native republic in 1899, and their prolonged resistance to American occupation and administration, made military government necessary for some years after the Spanish War. The famous Philippines Commission, consisting at first of five American judges and professors, but increased a year later by three Filipino members, was appointed in 1900 to prepare the way for civil government, and Judge Taft, afterwards President of the United States, became the first civil governor in 1901. The Philippines Commission performed till 1916 the double duties of executive and legislature, each of the principal departments of government being placed under a secretary, who was also a member of the Commission. Even when a popular legislative assembly (elected, it should be noticed, by Christians only, and without control over the Mohammedan and non-Christian portions of the island) was instituted in 1907, the Commission continued to form the executive, and also retained some control over legislation because it constituted the second chamber of the legislature. Bills could be introduced first either in the nominated Commission or the elected Assembly, and the consent of both these bodies was needed for any Bill to become law.

The Philippine Legislative Assembly, or lower house, having no control over the executive, and only partial responsibility for legislation, has shown the same tendency to irresponsible criticism of government and insufficiently considered legislative proposals as the Indian Legislative Council appointed two years later, under the Minto-Morley constitution (see Chapter VII, pp. 149 and 150 and footnote). The number of disagreements between Assembly and Commission have been large; the latter, for example, has rejected Bills from the lower house to repeal the Treason and Sedition

Act, to abolish the death penalty, to suppress the Civil Service Bureau, to extend the powers of local governments, to extend the control of the Christian assembly over the non-Christian peoples, and to call on Congress to accord the Filipino people the right to frame their own constitution. The two houses also disagreed frequently about appropriations of public money (though a special provision of the Philippine constitution had made it impossible for the popular assembly to arrest the function of government by refusing supplies), and about the choice of the two resident commissioners who represent the Philippines in Congress at Washington.

After 1913, when President Wilson and the democratic party came into power in the United States, the nominated commission was first enlarged by the inclusion of more Filipinos, and at last, after a long and honourable record of good work, was abolished in 1916 and replaced by an elected Senate. The Philippines constitution now closely resembles the familiar 'representative' type (i.e. a nominated executive and an elected ¹ legislature with no control over it), which nearly all the British dominions possessed for a time before obtaining responsible government. The study of British colonial history hardly leads one to expect smooth working for such a constitution in the Philippines.

The future of the Philippines. The Democratic Party in America, who were responsible for these changes, favoured the early separation of the archipelago from the United States, but the war for a time made such a course impossible. A new world order may have brought an independent Philippine Republic, with international guarantees, and perhaps American protection, within the bounds of possibility. At any rate the Philippine legislature believes so, and has recently adopted a resolution asking for immediate

¹ The legislature, to be exact, now consists of a Senate, composed of 22 elected members, and 2 members appointed by the governor-general to represent the non-Christian tribes; and an Assembly, which consists of 81 elected and 9 appointed members.

independence under the guarantee of the League of Nations. A committee is now¹ in America to press this concession, and President Wilson has expressed his entire sympathy with their demands. On the other hand, most Americans who have studied the question, including all those with Philippine experience, shrink at present from the risk of prematurely sacrificing the order and progress which have, during the last thirty years, been so laboriously and successfully achieved as a result of American trusteeship.

The special interest of the United States of America's overseas empire, too often ignored by English students, lies in the consistent and conscientious regard of its founders and administrators for this ideal of trusteeship. It has therefore seemed well worth while, in spite of its comparatively small extent and recent growth, to devote some space to it here.

The British Empire. The British Empire is remarkable not only for its size and wide distribution over the earth's surface, but also for some peculiar characteristics which we shall now consider.

Capacity for Growth and Development. It has shown in the past and still shows a remarkable capacity for natural growth. It grew for the most part fortuitously and without conscious design. German historians, and a few English writers, have denied this, and it is true that, at times when our existing Empire was specially threatened by rivals, we did follow a definitely 'forward' policy. This happened when France attacked our Empire in the eighteenth century, when Russia threatened it in the nineteenth, and during the general scramble for empire after 1878, in which Germany took the lead, and our great 'imperialist' statesmen, Disraeli and Chamberlain, competed. But in the main it is true that our Empire grew most rapidly when our Government cared and thought least about it, that is to say in the seventeenth century, when we were pre-occupied with

¹ (July 1919).

domestic disputes and a civil war, and during a period of about seventy years after the War of American Independence, when most thoughtful Englishmen regarded colonies as useless objects of expenditure, since they were all bound, sooner or later to 'cut the painter' (sever their connexion with the mother country). Disraeli himself once described colonies as 'millstones about our necks', and *The Times* once recommended the cession of Canada to the United States of America. Yet this very period of apathy or hostility to empire has rightly been described as 'the period of British monopoly of colonial expansion'. Because the industrial revolution (see Chapter IV, pp. 41 and 42) made us the first manufacturing country in the world, we had to export; because it caused industrial distress, we had to emigrate; and emigration and a great export trade with no competitors could not fail to produce rapid and permanent colonial expansion.

The British Empire has not only the advantage of its own steady, cautious growth, but it is founded on British nationality, itself the result of healthy age-long growth, secured by protecting seas from the wars and conquests which have checked the national growth of other European races.

Thus the past history of the Empire promises not only present stability but capacity for healthy growth in the future. She has felt her way to the solution of many apparently impossible problems, and can probably be trusted to feel her way to the solution of the still greater difficulties which lie in front of her.

Freedom of the Sea and Free Trade. Since Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Spanish Government, 'Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons; forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof', England has taken the lead in checking the claims of any other nation, Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch, to the exclusive use of open waters; later on she led the way in destroying piracy and the slave

trade. It is true that she has insisted, in war time, on the right of searching even neutral vessels, and preventing them from supplying her enemies. During long wars neutral nations, as well as our enemies, have naturally forgotten how much their commerce owed in the past to our navy. Yet it is an historical fact that the British Empire has secured for the world, at least in times of peace, the freedom of the seas.

After 1846 England ceased to 'protect' her own farmers and manufacturers by special duties, though she could not deny her self-governing colonies the right to do so if they wished, and they have all retained 'protective' tariffs (lists of duties or customs to be paid on exports or imports). But Free Trade in England brought Free Trade to India and to all our crown colonies and dependencies, so that for many years past all nations have traded there on equal terms. Free Trade in these places has injured English manufacturers, but benefited other manufacturing nations (especially Germany and Japan), and the people of our dependencies, who get the manufactured articles they require at the lowest possible prices. Without Free Trade they would not be so contented as they are, nor would the rest of the world have consented so readily to the expansion of our Empire. The British Empire, outside the great self-governing dominions, has therefore been built up on Free Trade.

Both Freedom of the Seas and Free Trade became part of our imperial system because they were believed to suit English commerce (though many people doubt whether the latter does so now), and not for any other country's convenience. Nevertheless, they stand out as the two characteristics of the British Empire's administration of tropical dependencies which specially justify its claim to have acted as a trustee for civilization at large.

Treatment of Backward Races. During the first half of the nineteenth century it became an accepted principle that

the politically and socially backward dependencies of our Empire must be administered in the interests of their inhabitants rather than in the interests of the ruling race. The eighteenth-century agitation against the slave trade and the influence of missionaries (see Chapter VIII, p. 161) did much to establish this principle, and it was definitely enunciated during the great debates in 1813 and 1833 on the renewal of the East India Company's charters, and in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 (see pp. 145-148).

'Exeter Hall', the early head-quarters of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, where great missionary gatherings and other religious meetings were held, has been for generations a by-word in South Africa for what the Germans would have called 'irrational sentimentality', and unwelcome interference with colonial governments by Colonial Secretaries in London. Yet 'Exeter Hall' exercised on the whole a healthy influence; English public opinion, especially that of working and lower middle-class voters, though often ill-informed, has been consistently generous to our subject races and done much to secure fair treatment for them.

Though Western political ideas have encouraged political agitators to disturb our commerce and attack our administration in India, we have never sought to recall the past, but gone on our course with apparently unshaken faith in the virtues of Western education and self-government.

Ours has not been the only modern Empire to recognize that dominion implies trusteeship for backward races. France has shown, especially in her care for native education, that she acknowledges her duties in this direction. The United States of America have declared again and again that they have only assumed imperial responsibilities as a temporary trust undertaken in the interests of backward races who have failed to keep good order themselves. England, France, and the United States, the three nations

most conspicuous for fair treatment of their politically backward subjects, were recently allied against Germany, notorious for the opposite treatment. They were fighting for the principle of trusteeship for subject races against that of domination, and this was surely the issue which specially won for them the support of such races during the Great War.

Encouragement of Nationality. Ever since the loss of her American colonies, England's peculiar imperial function has been the development of individual nationalities in a federated Empire. We have, as no other Empire, encouraged variety of national type, and gone far towards solving the apparently insoluble problem of 'linking diverse and free states in a common brotherhood of peace and mutual esteem'.¹ The solution of this problem is to-day the world's chief need, a need which caused the inclusion in the Treaty of Versailles of provisions, cautious but definite, for establishing a League of Nations. In the British Empire a League, or Commonwealth of Nations already exists for the world's example.

Our Empire has created distinct Canadian, Australian, and African nationalities; wherever we found national life already existing, as in Burma, we have carefully encouraged it; even in India, in spite of the bitter hostilities of many races, castes, and religions, we have attempted the apparently impossible task of creating an Indian nation, and, thanks to peace, political unity, common laws, and the common use of the English language, nearly all classes of educated Indians are rapidly becoming affected by the new sense of Indian nationality. On its development the success of our schemes for self-government in India must depend.

In spite of the lesson of the Boer War, the diversity of the British Empire seemed to many observers in 1914 a sign of weakness. The Germans considered our Empire a gigantic sham, an idol with feet of clay, because they could not understand the secrets of its strength. Her past encourage-

¹ Ramsay Muir, *Expansion of Europe*, p. 105.

ment of national life did not, however, prove a source of weakness to the Empire, but one of its chief securities ; a common passion for self-government was yet another source of strength.

Encouragement of Self-Government. In the Seven Years' War the British Empire consciously fought for the principle of self-government ; she fought for it, much less consciously, in her Napoleonic wars ; it was a common interest in self-government which kept the Empire together during the crisis of the Boer War, and it was the German threat to self-government which aroused the universal resistance of the Empire in 1914.

Such statements as these can never be definitely proved, but there are few Englishmen at home or abroad who do not feel them to be true. Belief in self-government is part of the inner nature of most Englishmen, an age-long growth, like English nationalism, favoured by the political genius of the race, and by England's insular position ; for no nation could have evolved the British constitution if its frontiers had been continually exposed to invasion, and if military dictatorships had been continually necessary for its safety. What we had found good for ourselves we offered, sometimes unwisely and prematurely, to others. From the beginning of the seventeenth century we gave our American colonies representative institutions ; when we had hit upon a fuller system of self-government in England we gave it to Canada (see Chapter V, Part II, p. 74), and since then we have insisted on giving it, sometimes against their will, to whatever portions of the Empire appeared to contain a sufficient proportion of educated citizens to benefit by it ; last of all we are undertaking the difficult and dangerous task of introducing it in India.

No other Empire has allowed its colonies so full a measure of self-government, and none, with the striking exception of the United States, who have naturally carried on the traditional policy of the mother country, has ever definitely

recognized the duty of preparing its subject races for self-government.

Our Empire has been described as 'perhaps the most effective human machinery which has so far been produced for enabling men and women in every stage of development to make the most and best of themselves',¹ and more briefly as 'the greatest institution in the world for enabling men to realize the duty of governing themselves'.² Its adventurous attempt to educate the world in the art of self-government will always stand out in history as its most striking characteristic.

The two Chief Problems confronting the Empire. The relations between the Home Government and the dominions, and the growing demand for self-government from India and the dependencies are two very difficult problems which confront the Empire to-day. Students can read discussions of these problems in newspapers, and, because they are subjects of present political controversy, they will be only briefly reviewed here.

The Relations between the Imperial Government and the Dominions. Steps towards closer imperial union were taken long before the war. The first Colonial Conferences were held in 1897 and 1902; after 1902 they became periodical, and after 1907 they admitted a representative of India, and were called Imperial Conferences. Many people welcomed them as a first step towards an Imperial Parliament, but the colonial representatives insisted, to quote the oft-repeated words of the late Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Canadian Premier, that 'this is not a government but a conference of governments'. English opinion in those days generally endorsed this view, though a strong party grew up, under Mr. Chamberlain's leadership, in favour of an Imperial Parliament and true imperial federation.

The movement was probably retarded in England by Mr. Chamberlain's advocacy of Tariff reform (i. e. the

¹ Sir Charles Lucas, *The British Empire*, p. 198.

² Curtis, *Problem of the Commonwealth*, p. 4.

return to a trade policy of Protection instead of Free Trade) as an essential feature of imperial federation, for most Englishmen did not want to abandon Free Trade, and many of them consequently began to mistrust any suggestion for closer union with the colonies. A kindred proposal for an Imperial Customs Union checked the movement in the dominions, who mistrusted anything which threatened their independent control of their own trade.

The keen controversy between 'Free Traders' and 'Protectionists' and their general ignorance of the dangerous condition of foreign affairs kept most Englishmen and colonials from realizing until the war began, and it was too late, the urgent necessity for closer union.

The war not only revealed this necessity, but brought home to the dominions the fact that they had no voice in the Empire's foreign policy on which peace and war depend. It is now almost universally admitted that the dominions and India can no longer be left in this position.

During the war an Imperial War Conference was instituted, and everything possible in such a time of stress was done to secure closer union of the Empire. Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India were each directly represented by two delegates at the Great Peace Conference, though the United Kingdom was only indirectly represented through five delegates for the British Empire. After the Peace of Versailles all parties have apparently admitted the urgent necessity for an 'Imperial Conference to consider the future inter-relationship of the Empire' (see Mr. Bonar Law's answer to a question in Parliament, July 10, 1919). Before this conference will lie the difficult task of strengthening the unity of the Empire without sacrificing colonial nationality and colonial self-government, which have been so far its essential features.

The Demand for Self-Government. The desire of non-European subjects of the Empire for self-government was stimulated during the war by their pride in supporting the

Empire in time of need, and also by the Allies' avowed championship of democracy and oppressed nationalities. After the war the demand for change in India and Egypt became fiercely insistent; deplorable riots, resulting in outrage and murder, have unfortunately hindered the cause of political reform by giving the outside world an unfavourable impression of the political judgement and capacity for self-government of the peoples of those countries.

Yet no intelligent student of history or of current opinion in England can doubt the honest desire of the majority of the English people to grant self-government to India and Egypt, as soon as they are fit to benefit thereby. In the case of India we are definitely pledged, by the Secretary of State's announcement in August 1917, gradually to introduce responsible government.

The task of deciding the time and measure for political reform in these countries still lies with the English people, and the path of duty in this matter will not be easy for them to find. Misery has too often followed on premature emancipation from political control. France made a mistake when she gave up the West Indian island of Haiti to its natives in 1810, for the successive governments of negro presidents, kings, and emperors have so far only produced ruin and anarchy. The South American Republics provide some examples of the same danger. Moreover, comparatively few English administrators in India, who are immediately responsible for efficient order and government, are in favour of rapid political changes in that country. Again, in spite of the great success of responsible government in the Anglo-Saxon dominions of the British Empire, it has not been proved that this form of government is a cure for all human ills, or even that it suits all races. Few European countries have tried it with success; the most that has been proved is that it suits the Anglo-Saxon and some other European races, and even in England it has led to many inconveniences and abuses. These considerations

would justify the most liberal Englishman in accepting, with some caution, the assurance of a comparatively small number of Indian, Egyptian, and Burmese gentlemen that its immediate introduction to their countries will prove a blessing.

Very careful consideration and caution are evidently essential in this business of emancipating India and Egypt from foreign political control. It would be criminal for any statesman to proceed rashly or rapidly with such a delicate task. Progress must be gradual and safeguarded by proper precautions. Many English voters, especially those of the upper and middle classes who have visited India and Egypt, or who have been connected with them by business or friendships, fully realize these difficulties ; but the ' working classes ', represented in Parliament by the powerful Labour Party, do not always understand them. They are rightly proud that their party has advocated for generations the humane treatment of natives in the tropical parts of our Empire, they are grateful to India and the dependencies for their services in the war, they pin their faith to democracy and wish to see it established all over the world. Their impulses are generous, their policy is theoretically sound, but they may not have enough historical and local knowledge to admit the need of delay and caution in carrying it out.¹

Conclusion. The United Kingdom is now a democracy (thinly disguised as a monarchy), with enormous imperial responsibilities, of which she would gladly be relieved, but which she cannot hope to lay down for many years to come. Meanwhile her people need, and all citizens of the British Empire need, better knowledge of imperial history and

¹ During the year 1920 the Indian Reform Bill became law and proposals for a new Constitution for Burma were being considered by Parliament. Though both these measures contain too many cautious restrictions to meet the approval of 'advanced' native politicians, they are both very bold and honest steps towards carrying out the Secretary of State's promise of August 1917, and they offer Indian and Burmese statesmen wide immediate powers and the experience and training they require for still wider responsibility and independence.

For the result of Lord Milner's mission to Egypt in 1920, see p. 49.

imperial problems. Questions of current political controversy are generally out of place in school text-books. They have only been mentioned in this chapter in order to emphasize the connexion between them and the Empire's past history. The author hopes that educated young men and women of many races will read this book, that it will interest them in the Empire to which they belong, and help them to acquire the knowledge they will soon need to decide aright the problems of the future.

Books recommended for further study.

The Expansion of Europe. Ramsay Muir. Constable.

The British Empire. Sir C. Lucas. Macmillan.

The Problem of the Commonwealth. Curtis. Macmillan.

Origin and Growth of the Colonies. Egerton. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

American History for Secondary Schools. Ashley. Macmillan.

Chapter XXI.

The Mediterranean and Eastern Colonies. Vol. I of Sir Charles Lucas's Historical Geography of the Dominions. Clarendon Press.

The West Indies. Vol. II of Sir Charles Lucas's Historical Geography of the Dominions. Clarendon Press.

History of the Philippines, and a supplementary *Decade of American Government in the Philippines.* Barrows. World Book Co. New York.

The Germans in Africa. Pamphlet. Oxford University Press. 3d.

The British Empire. Pollard. League of the Empire. pp. 756-88.

The Character of the British Empire. Ramsay Muir (Pamphlet, Lahore Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1918.)

Subjects for discussion or written composition.

1. Discuss the circumstances which urged different European countries to colonial expansion during the nineteenth century. Explain (a) The British monopoly of such expansion during one period of this century, and (b) the general competition for new territory during another period.

2. Discuss the connexion between Nationalism and Imperial expansion during the nineteenth century.

3. Compare the aims and methods of recent German and American Imperial enterprise.

4. Some people assert that the British Empire is the result of deli-

berate design, others that it grew by chance and force of circumstances. Mention some historical arguments in favour of each of these assertions

5. Examine England's claim to have given the world the Freedom of the Seas. Why has this claim often been denied ?

6. Why is ' Exeter Hall ' often mentioned during political discussions in South Africa ? Sketch some results of its influence.

7. Explain the existence of many distinct national types within the Empire. What is the connexion between Indian nationalism and schemes for self-government in India ?

8. Discuss the statement that the British Empire is founded on self-government.

9. Mention some arguments for closer study of the British Empire's history in its schools and colleges.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Roman Conquest of Britain	43-85
Rome released Britain from allegiance	410
Foundation of Saxon and Angle Kingdoms	477-577
Norman Conquest and beginning of first (continental) Empire	1066
First Hundred Years' War with France	1377-1453
End of England's Continental Empire	1453
Constantinople captured by the Turks	1453
Columbus discovered America	1492
Treaty of Tordesillas	1494
Vasco da Gama discovered sea-route to India	1498
Union of Spanish and Portuguese Empires	1580
Defeat of Spanish Armada	1598
East India Company founded	1600
British victory over Portuguese Fleet off Surat	1612
British Settlement at Surat	1612
Sailing of Pilgrim Fathers to America	1620
Massacre of Amboyna	1622
Purchase and Settlement of Madras by East India Company	1639
Great Civil War in England	1642-49
Dutch occupation of the Cape	1652-1806
Capture and Settlement of Jamaica	1655
Bombay acquired from Portugal	1661
New York acquired from Dutch	1674
Second Hundred Years' War with France	1689-1815
Calcutta founded	1690
Death of Aurunzebe, followed by break-up of Moghul Empire	1708
Seven Years' War	1756-63
Battles of Plassey, and Quebec	1757 and 1759
Cook's Australian Discoveries	1771
Regulating Act, India	1773
War of American Independence	1778-83
United Empire Loyalists settled in Canada	1783-4
Wars against Revolutionary France and Napoleon	1783-1815
Pitt's India Act	1784

First Fleet to Botany Bay, and settlement of New South

Wales	1787
Capture of Ceylon	1795
Conquest of the Cape	1806
Capture of Mauritius	1810
War with U.S.A.	1812-14
Crossing of Blue Mountains	1813
Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies	1833
Exploration of Darling-Murray basin completed	1835
Great Trek	1836
Dingaan's Day	1838
Lord Durham's Report on Canada	1839
Convict Transportation to New South Wales stopped	1840
Union of Upper and Lower Canada, and establishment of Responsible Government	1842
First Legislative Assembly of New South Wales	1842
British Annexation of Natal	1848
Annexation of the Punjab	1849
Discovery of gold in New South Wales	1851
Responsible Government in New Zealand	1852
Responsible Government in Australian Colonies	1856
Indian Mutiny	1857
Queen's Proclamation and Government of India Act	1858
American Civil War	1861-5
Dominion of Canada	1867
Opening of Suez Canal, dual British and French control in Egypt	1869
Kimberley Diamond Field opened	1870
Responsible Government at Cape	1872
Annexation of Transvaal	1877
Zulu War	1879
First Boer War	1880
Second Transvaal Republic	1880-99
British Administration of Egypt began	1882
Third Burmese War completed annexation of Burma to Indian Empire	1884-8
Gold mining at Johannesburg began	1884
British Protectorate over Lower Niger	1884
British Protectorate over Somaliland	1884
Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway	1886

Chronological Table

215

Grant of Charter conferring administrative power on British East African Company	1888
Grant of Charter conferring administrative power on British South African Company	1888
British Protectorate over Zanzibar	1890
British Protectorate over British Central Africa	1891
Responsible Government in Western Australia	1891
Responsible Government in Natal	1893
Uganda Protectorate	1894
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1896
Jameson's Raid	1896
British Occupation and Administration of Sudan	1896
First Colonial Conference	1897
Second Boer War	1899-1902
Australian Commonwealth	1901
Responsible Government in Orange River Colony	1907
First Imperial Conference	1907
Minto-Morley Constitution, India	1909
South African Union	1910
Great War	1914-18
Imperial War Conference	1917
Secretary of State's announcement about Responsible Government in India	1917
Indian Reform Act	1920
Milner mission to Egypt recommended Egyptian independence	1920

INDEX

- Abercrombie: defeated at Ticonderoga, 61.
- Abyssinia, 14, 189, 194.
- Aden, 48.
- Adowa, 194.
- Afghanistan (three wars), 141.
- 'Africander' spirit, 157, 159, 183, 204.
- Agra, 111, 116, 122.
- Aix-la-Chapelle (Peace), 47, 130.
- Akbar, 31, 116.
- Alaska, 195.
- Albany, Dutch Settlement, 57: British head-quarters during Seven Years' War, 61.
- Albuquerque, 15, 16, 158.
- Alexandria, 2, 11.
- Algeria, 189.
- Algoa Bay (first English immigration), 160.
- Alleghany Mountains, 53, 60.
- Almeida, first Portuguese Viceroy and victor of Diu, 118; killed at the Cape, 158.
- Amboyna (massacre in 1623), 27, 119, 121.
- American Independence (war of), causes and results, 63, 160.
- Anglicans, 35.
- Annam, 189, 190.
- Annexations (in India after 1774), and importance of Mahratta war of 1819 as a landmark, 139-42.
- Anti-transportation movement (Australia), 98.
- Arakan, 16; a snare to the ablest Burmese kings, 113, 114; annexed by British, 141.
- Archangel, 28.
- Arcot, 131.
- Armada, historical importance of its destruction, 23, 24.
- Armenians, at Bombay, 125.
- Arthur (Tasmanian Governor), 97.
- Ascension Island, 46.
- Asiatic Immigration: in Australia, statement of two conflicting claims, 107-8; in South Africa, ditto, 184-5.
- Auckland (Lord) and first Afghan war, 141, 191.
- Aungier (Gerald), his work at Bombay, 125.
- Aurunzebe: his puritanism, bigotry, and failure in the Deccan, 117.
- Australia: its settlement indirect result of American Independence, 46, 80, 87; its history why interesting in spite of limitations, 80-1; geographical features and their influence on history, 84; discovery, 84-7; four periods of her story, 87-8; geographical discoveries, 90-6; natives, 96-8; anti-transportation movement, 98; Representative Government in N.S.W. in 1842, 99; Responsible Government, 100-1; gold rushes, 101-3; democracy and state-control results of gold rushes and convictism, 104-5; also of geographical isolation, 108; difficulties in way of Federation, and its advantages, 106; the Commonwealth (1901-14), a loose confederation, 105-7; Asiatic immigration 107-9.
- Australia Felix, 95.
- Austria, 194.
- Babar, 115-16.
- Balasar, 126.
- Ballarat, 102.
- Banks (Sir Joseph), 87.
- Bantus: entered South Africa from the North in modern times, 157, 158, 162; crossed Great Fish River in 1779, conflict there, 162; how regarded by Boers, 161; native question to-day, 183, 184; also see Zulus, Basutos, and Matabele.
- Barrier Reef (Australia), 86.
- Bass (Australian discoverer), 90-1.
- Basutos and Basutoland, 154, 164, 166; its conversion into a British Protectorate in 1868 a Boer grievance, 164, 178.

- Bathurst, 94, 101.
 Beaconsfield (Prime Minister), his 'forward' policy in Zululand, 171, Afghanistan, 141, and Transvaal, 173, reversed by Gladstone; *also see* 200, 201.
 Bechuanas, 164.
 Beira, 158.
 Belgian Colonial administration, 193, 194.
 Bendigo, 102.
 Bengal, 110, 111, 125-6; during Seven Years' War, 132; under Clive's dual control, 135, 143.
 Bentinck, Lord William, 137.
 Bernier, French traveller in India, 117.
 Best (Captain), his victory off Surat, 118.
 Beyers (Boer general and rebel), 182.
 Bijapur (Mohammedan kingdom conquered by Aurunzebe), 117.
 Bill of Rights (1689), 38.
 Bismarck Island, 191.
 Blake (Admiral), 34.
 Blaxland (crossed Blue Mts.), 93.
 Bligh (governor of N.S.W.) deposed, 92.
 Bloemfontein, 177, 179.
 Blue Mountains, 89, 90; crossed in 1813, 93, 94.
 Boers: characteristics, 157, 159, 161; independent republics near Cape Town in 1795, 160; under British rule at Cape from 1806, 160 seq.; Great Trek, 162 seq.; *also see under* South Africa.
 Boer Wars: first in 1880, 172-3; second, 1899-1902, causes, events, and results, 178-80, 204, 205; *also see* 106.
 Bolan Pass, 110, 141.
 Bombay: founded, 28; Gerald Aungier's work, 125; progress checked by pirates, 125.
 Bonar Law (Colonial Secretary), 207.
 Borneo, 7, 49.
 Botany Bay, 86, 88.
 Botha (Boer general and statesman), 179, 183.
 Bourke (Australia), 83.
 Brand (President Orange Free State), 165.
 Brazil, Empire founded by Portugal, 13, 17; republic since 1889, 17.
 Brisbane (Australian governor), 99.
 Bristol, 7.
 British Columbia: accession to Dominion, 77.
 British Constitution, 5; *also see under* Responsible and Representative Government.
 British Empire: first maritime enterprise parasitic 21, 22; accidental growth, 26; in seventeenth century: motives (a) trade 27, (b) political and religious discontent, 29; Eastern expansion, 27; Western expansion, 28; in America up to 1756, 56-60; after 1756, 60-78; for Australia, North America, India, and South Africa *see* chaps. V, VI, VII, and VIII; influenced by English party politics, 48, 141, 173, 181; characterized by (1) capacity for development, 201, (2) freedom of seas and trade, 201, 202, (3) fair treatment of backward races, 203, (4) encouragement of national development and self-government, 204-6; modern problems and responsibilities, 206, 209.
 British South African Company, 7, 176.
 Burgers (President first Transvaal Republic), 166, 169, 170.
 Burke and Wills (Australian discoverers), 95.
 Burma: geographical ideas of Buddhist monks, 9; Burmese geography and history, 113-4; Burmese wars with British, 114, 141; steps towards Responsible Government, 151, 209; French connexion, 190; Burmese nationality, 113, 204.
 Bushman's Pass, 154, 166.
 Bushmen (South Africa), 158.
 Bushranging (Australia): a temporary phase, 103.
 Bussy (French General), controlled Northern Circars, 131; recalled by Lally, captured at Wandiwash, 133; re-appears in India during Mysore war, 134.
 Cabot, 21, 52.
 Calcutta, founded in 1690 by Job

- Charnock, 126; Black-hole outrage and Suraj-ad-daula's defeat at Plassey, 1756, 133.
- Calicut, 14.
- California, 18, 101.
- Cameroons, 191, 192.
- Canada: separation of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, 67; Representative Government in Upper Canada, 68, 70; in Lower Canada, 70, 72; at war with U.S.A. 1812-14, 67-8; Lord Durham's report, and establishment of Responsible Government, 72-4; Union of Upper and Lower Canada, 1842, 74; Dominion of Canada, 1867, 75; character of Dominion Constitution, 75, 76, 181; German immigration, 192; suggested cession to U.S.A., 201.
- Canadian Nationalism (and loyalty to Empire), 77-8.
- Canadian Pacific Railway, 76, 77.
- Canning (first Indian Viceroy), 147.
- Cape Breton Island, 60, 62, 130.
- Cape Colony: Dutch settlement to 1652, 159; seized by Great Britain in 1795 and 1806, 160; British régime, 1806-36, 160-2; Representative Government, 1853 and Responsible Government, 1872, Kaffir franchise, 169; for Cape Town *see* 181; *also see* South Africa.
- Carnatic: the natural battlefield in India of maritime powers, 111; struggle between French and English, 130-1, 133.
- Carpentaria (Cape), 81.
- Carthage, 3.
- Cartier (French discoverer), 21, 28.
- Cartier (Sir George, Canadian statesman), 75.
- Cetywayo, 170-2.
- Ceylon, 121.
- Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary), 177, 200.
- Champlain (discoverer), 28.
- Champlain (lake), 53, 61, 65.
- Chancellor, 28.
- Chandernagore, 127, 133.
- Charles I: his reign and execution, 32-3.
- Charles II, colonial and trade policy, 35; dependence on France, 35; gave outsiders licences to trade in India, 145.
- Charnock (Job) founded Calcutta, 126.
- Chartered trading companies, 7, 49.
- Charters of East India Co.; their history, 145-7.
- Chelmsford (Lord), 139.
- Civil wars: in England, 33; in America, 75, 76, 162.
- Clive (Robert); prisoner of war at Pondicherry; seizes and holds Arcot, 131; goes home, on return voyage puts down Bombay pirates, 132; seizes Chandernagore, wins battle of Plassey, 133; sends Colonel Forde to Masulipatam, 133; obtains Dewani of Bengal, 135, 143; Governorship of Bengal, 1765-7, 135.
- Coastal Ranges: of North America, 53, 55; of Australia, 82, 83; of India, 111; of South Africa, 154.
- Cochin-China, 189.
- Codes: Indian Penal Code, and Code of Criminal Procedure, 147.
- Coen, Jan Petersen; greatest governor-general of Dutch East Indies, 120.
- Colbert, 55.
- Colonial Conferences (1897 and 1902), 206.
- Columbus, 12, 13.
- Commonwealth: in England, 1649-60, 34; Australian from 1901, *see* Australia; suggested name for British Empire, 205.
- Comparisons and contrasts suggested: Akbar's religious toleration and ideas in contemporary Europe, 31, 116; Albuquerque, Clive, Dupleix, and Coen, 120; Australian and American ideas, 108; Australian dividing range and Andamanese jungle, 90; British and German colonial Empires, 26; British and Roman Empires, 3, 4; Chaka and Hyder Ali of Mysore, 140, 167; consequences of abolition of slavery in America and South Africa, 162; Constitutions of Dominion of Canada, Commonwealth of Australia, and Union of South Africa, 181; disastrous beginnings of Seven

- Years' War and Great War, 60 ; Eastern coastal plains of U.S.A and of Australia, 83 ; English Tudor Period and modern India, 30 ; French and British Colonies in America, 52, 53, 56 ; geographical notions of Portuguese priests in fourteenth century and Buddhist monks in Burma to-day, 9 ; India and the Philippines, 197 ; New Zealand and the Cape with reference to the political status of aborigines, 169 ; South African coastal ranges and Western Ghats, 154, 155 ; strained relations of executive and legislature under representative Government in Canada, India, and the Philippines, 148, 149, 150, 198.
- Congo Free State, 193, 194.
- Conventions : of London 1884 (confirming Transvaal independence), 173 ; national convention of South Africa before Union, 1908, 181.
- Cooper Creek, 81.
- Coote (Sir Eyre), 133.
- Cortez, 18.
- Courten's (Sir William) Company in India, 124.
- Covillam : his mission to the East, 13.
- Cromwell (Oliver) : estimate of his work at home and abroad, 34, 35.
- Crusades, 8, 16.
- Cuba, 20, 195, 196.
- Curzon (Lord), 138.
- Customs Union of South Africa, 1906, 181.
- d'Aché : French admiral in Indian waters during Seven Years' War, 132-3.
- Dalhousie (Governor-General, India) applied Doctrine of Lapse, but unwillingly annexed Oude, one cause of mutiny, 138.
- Darling-Murray river basin, 83 ; the riddle and its solution, 94.
- de Brito, Portuguese adventurer, 119.
- Deccan, 111.
- Delagoa Bay, 164, 174.
- de la Rey (Boer general) 179.
- Delaware, 57, 58.
- Delhi : geographical position, 111, 117, 122.
- Democracy : supported by British Empire during Boer War, 180.
- de Wet (Boer general), 179.
- Dias, Bartholomew, 12.
- Dingaen, 166, 167.
- Dingiswayo, 163.
- Discoveries (geographical) : Marco Polo in Asia, 8 ; Guinea coast, 10 ; Cape by Dias, 12 ; America by Columbus, 13 ; Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, 14, 15 ; Newfoundland by Cabot, 21 ; Canada by Cartier and Champlain, 21, 28 ; Hudson and Chancellor, 28 ; Australia by Dutch, 84-5 ; Cook, 85-7 ; Bass and Flinders, 90, 91 ; other Australian discoveries, 93-6.
- Disraeli (*see* Beaconsfield).
- District Boards in India, 149.
- Dividing Range : Australia's chief physical feature, 81, 83.
- Divine Rights of Kings, 32, 39.
- Dopper Church and Party, 169, 175.
- Downton, Nicholas : defeats Portuguese ships, 1614, 118.
- Drake : Europe and the British Empire's debt to him, 22.
- Drakensberg Range, 154-5, 166, 167.
- Dravidians, 111.
- Dual Control in Bengal under Clive, 135, 143.
- Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry, 1735-41, 129.
- Dupleix : his activities in India, his successes, limitations, and failure, 129-31.
- Duquesne, Fort, 60, 62.
- D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, Cape governor, 1834-8 ; annexations cancelled by Lord Glenelg, 161, 162.
- Durban City : founded, 162 ; received National Convention, 181.
- Durham, Lord : his report on Canada in 1838 and its results ; the most important document in the history of the British Empire, 72-4, 107, 168, 169.
- Dutch : early naval predominance, 17 ; struggle with Spain or independence, 21 ; established in the East, 21 ; power in East Indies

- during seventeenth century, 27, 119-21; wars with England, 27; in America, 29, 57; methods in the East, 119-20; discoveries on Australian coast, 84-5; success in selecting trade centres, 51, 150; at the Cape from 1652, 158-60 (*see also* Boers); German designs on Dutch East Indies, 193.
- East India Company: founded 1600, 27; established at Surat, 122; at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, 125; driven out of the Spice Islands by the Dutch, 27, 119; attempted to make war on Aurunzebe, 1656, 126; otherwise confined its activities to trade during the seventeenth century, but aimed at territorial sovereignty after 1684, 126; after Plassey, obtained dewani of Bengal and shared dual control with Nawab, 143; placed under control of King's ministers by Regulating Act of 1773, 135, 143; Pitt's India Act 1784, 144; its charters in the seventeenth century, 145; renewals of charters in 1793, 1813, 1833, 1853, 145-7, 203; charter withdrawn by Government of India Act of 1858, 147.
- Education: in India, 137, 146-7, 149, 204; in South Africa, 175, 181; in Philippines, 197; in Australia, 104.
- Egypt, 8, 48-9, 208-9.
- Elections, English Parliamentary, their results over-seas: 1880, 141, 173; 1906, 181.
- Elizabeth: attitude to maritime adventure, 22; her sailors, 22; declared for freedom of the seas, 23, 201; her circular letters to eastern princes, 122.
- Ellenborough, Lord, and Sind annexations, 142.
- Empires: Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, 1, 2; Roman, 3; contrasted with British, 4; results of fall of Roman Empire, 5; first English continental Empire, 7; Portuguese, 16, 17; 118-19; Spanish, 18-21; French, 21, 29, 53-6, 60-2, 127-34, 189, 191; Dutch, 21, 27, 29, 57, 119-21, 158, 160; German Colonial, 191-3; Belgian, 194; Japanese, 194; Italian, 194; U.S.A. 195-200; British (*see under* British Empire); changes in significance of word 'Empire', 188.
- Employers' Liability Act, 44.
- Encounter Bay, 81.
- Eritrea, 194.
- Euphrates, 1, 15.
- Eureka Stockade: revolutionary episode of 1852 in Victoria, 102.
- Exeter Hall, 203.
- Eyre, Australian explorer and Governor of Jamaica, 95.
- Eyre, Lake, 81.
- Factory Acts, 44.
- Family compact in Upper Canada, 69, 72.
- Fashoda, 189.
- Feudal System, 6, 29.
- Fish River (Great), 164.
- Flinders (discoverer), 90-1.
- Flinders River, 81.
- Forbes, one of Pitt's generals in America, 61.
- Forde, Colonel, sent by Clive from Bengal to Northern Circars during Seven Years' War, 133.
- Formosa, 194.
- France: parasitic beginnings of maritime enterprise, 22; growth of Empire in America, 29, 52-6; in Egypt, 49; in India, 127-34; her opposition stimulated our imperial ambitions, 139, 200; her second colonial empire, its growth and characteristics, 188-91, 203.
- Free Trade, 44, 202, 207.
- Freedom of Seas, 23, 201, 202.
- Ganges, 110, 111.
- Geography, its influence on history: Australia, 81-4; South Africa, 154-7; India, 111-14; North America, 53, 55, 57, 58, 65, 76, 77.
- George I and George II: result of ignorance of English language, 39, 40.
- George III: attempt to revive royal power, 39, 40, 63; responsibility for War of American Independence, 63.

- Georgia, 46, 59, 80.
 German Colonial Empire : its growth and characteristics, 184, 188, 191-3, 204.
 German East Africa, 183.
 German Emperor's support of Transvaal Republic, 177, 180-1.
 German manufactures, 202.
 German South West Africa, 182.
 Germany, other references, 19, 26.
 Ghandi, Indian politician and social reformer, 186.
 Ghats, India, 111.
 Gibraltar, 3, 46, 47.
 Gladstone, Prime Minister : reverses Beaconsfield's colonial policy after 1880 election, criticism of his restoration of Transvaal independence after Majuba, 141, 173.
 Glenelg (Lord), Colonial Secretary, reverses D'Urban's annexations in 1835, 162.
 Goa, 16, 118-19.
 Godolphin, Lord, his arbitration between rival East India Companies, 146.
 Golconda : Mohammedan kingdom conquered by Aurunzebe ; gave our traders at Masulipatam Golden Phirmaund in 1632, 125.
 Gold mining and its results : in Spanish dependencies, 18 ; in Australia, 48, 101-3 ; in South Africa, 165, 174-8.
 Governors-General of India, 135-6.
 Great Trek, causes and results, 162-3, 166 seq.
 Great War, its results : in England, 45 ; in Canada, 78 ; in Australia, 107 ; in India, 150, 207 ; in South Africa, 182-3 ; other references, 191, 204.
 Guinea Coast : discovered by Henry the Navigator's expeditions, 10, 12 ; slave trade, 20.
 Habitants, Canadian ; their origin and characteristics, 55 ; reject idea of U.S.A. connexion, 71.
 Haidarabad : Bussy's establishment there, 131.
 Haiti, 18, 208.
 Hanover, Electors of, and 1701 Succession Act, 38.
 Hanoverian Dynasty, 38-40.
 Hardinge, Governor-General, 1844-8, 141.
 Hardinge, Viceroy, 1910-16, 138.
 Hargraves, discoverer of gold in N.S.W., 101.
 Hastings (Lord), Governor-General, 137.
 Hastings, Warren : administration and trial, 136 ; hampered by Regulating Act of 1773, 144.
 Hawaii, 87, 195.
 Hawkesbury River, 89.
 Hawkins, William : at Jehangir's court in 1608, 122.
 Henry the Navigator, 9, 10, 11.
 Hereros, 192.
 Himalayan Mts., their control over Indian History, 110.
 Hinterlands, 52, 189.
 Hispaniola, 18, 19, 20.
 Hokkaido, 194.
 Hottentots, 158, 159.
 Howe, Lord, killed before Ticonderoga, 61.
 Howe Cape, 86.
 Hudson Bay, 7, 28.
 Hudson, discoverer, 28, 29.
 Hudson River, 29, 53, 57, 65.
 Hughes, Admiral, 134.
 Hugh, first British settlements, 28, 126 ; *see also* Calcutta.
 Huguenots at the Cape, 159.
 Hull, 7.
 Hundred Years' War (second), 1699-1813, its results, 45, 46, 47 ; in America, 60, 63 ; in India, 127, 134.
 Hunter River, 89.
 Hyder Ali of Mysore, 140, 167.
 Imperial Conferences, 206, 207.
 Imperial War Conference, 207.
 India : geographical features and their influence on history, 110-14 ; in seventeenth century, 114-27 ; English struggle with the French, 127-34 ; under Governors-Generals and Viceroys, 134-51 ; wars and annexations after 1774, 139-43 ; charters and constitutional changes, 143-51 ; difficulties of modern administration, steps to introduce responsible government after Secretary of State's announcement of August, 1917,

- 148, 150-1, 209; agitation for self-government after Great War, 208, 209.
- Indian Councils Acts of 1861, 1882, and 1909, 149-50, 198.
- Indian emigration: to South Africa, 184, 185; to Australia, 107, 108.
- Indo-China, 113, 189.
- Indus, River, 1, 110.
- Industrial Revolution in England; its causes and results, 40-3, 44, 45, 201.
- Interlopers (trade rivals of East India Company), 145.
- Iroquois, 53, 55.
- Irrawaddy, 16, 113.
- Italian Colonial Empire, 188, 194.
- James I: his reign, 32, 57; outwitted by Dutch over East India Treaty, 1619, 121; his letters to Moghul Emperors, 122; gave outsiders licences to trade in India, 145.
- James II, 36.
- Jameson (Dr.), 176.
- Japan: Korean administration, 194-5; other references, 191, 193, 202.
- Jehangir: receives Hawkins, 122; and Roe, 123; *also see* 126.
- Johannesburg, 165, 174, 176, 177.
- Johnson (Major) deposed Governor Bligh, 92.
- Joubert, enlightened Boer statesman and general, 172, 175, 177.
- Kabul, 115, 141.
- Kaffirs, 158; *see also* Bantus.
- Kalgoorli, 103.
- Karoo, 156.
- Kasimbazaar, 126.
- Kei River, 162.
- Kiau-Chau, 191, 193.
- Kimberley, 165, 179.
- Kingston (Ontario), 68.
- Korea, 194.
- Kruger, Paul: in Great Trek of 1836, 163; raid into Free State, 166; opposes Burgers' administration, 169-70; agitates against Transvaal annexation, leader in first Boer War, 172-3; President of Transvaal Republic, 1880-99, 173-9.
- La Bourdonnais, French admiral and Governor of Mauritius, 129, 138.
- Labour Party (in England): its influence on Imperial administration, 203, 209.
- Lachine, significance of place-name, 28.
- Ladysmith, 179.
- Lally, Count, French general, quarrels with Admiral d'Aché mistakes in Carnatic during Seven Years' War, defence and surrender of Pondicherry, 132, 133; attempt to reform abuses there, 135.
- Lang (Dr.), N.S.W. politician, historian, and divine; quoted, 83, 94, 100; supports anti-transportation movement, 98; praises first Legislative assembly, 100.
- Laing's Nek, 154.
- Lapse, doctrine of (India), 138.
- La Salle, 56.
- Laurier (Sir Wilfred), Canadian Premier, 76, 206.
- League of Nations, 194, 204.
- Leeuwin, Cape, 91.
- Leichhard, Australian discoverer, 95.
- Leopold II of Belgium, 193-4.
- Lichnowsky, German ambassador, his memoirs, 192.
- Limpopo River, 164, 165.
- Lisbon, 10, 14, 15, 21.
- Long Parliament, 35.
- Louis XIV: subsidizes Charles II of England, 35; fails to support East India Co., 127.
- Louisberg (Cape Breton Island), 61, 62, 130.
- Lydenburg, Boer Republic, 1856, 166.
- Lytton, Lord, and second Afghan war, 141.
- Macarthur: imported merino sheep to N.S.W., and quarrelled with Governor Bligh, 92.
- Macaulay: law member of Bentinck's council, influenced momentous decision in favour of English education, 137.
- Macdonald, Sir John, Canadian statesman, 75.

- Mackenzie: his rebellion in upper Canada, 69.
 MacKinley (President U.S.A.), 197.
 Macquarie, Lachlan, (Australian governor), 93; his 'passion for immortality' and road-building, progress under his régime, 93, 94; emancipist policy, 98; objection to Councils, 99.
 Macquarie and Lachlan rivers, 94, 95, 101.
 Madagascar, 14, 158, 190.
 Madeira, 9.
 Madras (Fort St. George): founded, 28, 125; taken by French and stored at Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle, 130; besieged by Lally, 132, 133.
 Mafeking, 179.
 Mahadeo Hills, 111.
 Mahdi, 49.
 Mahé, 129.
 Mahrattas: home in Western Ghats, 111; defied Aurunzebe, 117, 118; our three Mahratta wars, 137, 140; importance of second Mahratta war as historical landmark, 140.
 Majuba Hill, battle, 172, 178.
 Malacca straits, 120.
 Manitoba, 77.
 Manucci, Venetian traveller in India, 117.
 Maoris, 96, 169.
 Marco Polo, 8, 12.
 Maryland, 58.
 Massachusetts, 57.
 Masulipatam: Dutch there, 121; English there, 125; French there, 127; Bussy's occupation, 131, and recall, 133; Colonel Forde's occupation, 133.
 Matabele nation, 164, 176.
 Mauritius: Flinders detained there, 91; under La Bourdonnais, 129; taken from France in 1810, 134; other references, 46, 159.
 Mekong River, 113, 190.
 Merchant adventurers; received charters to trade on continent during Middle Ages, forerunners of famous chartered companies, 7.
 Mexico, 18, 195.
 Middle Europe State (German project), 193.
 Milner, Lord: High Commissioner at the Cape, 178; Governor of Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, 179-80; mission to Egypt in 1920, 49.
 Minto-Morley Constitution, India, 149-50, 198.
 Missionaries (Christian): in Canada, 53, 55; India, 146-7; South Africa, 161; Philippines, 196; their influence on treatment of backward races, 203.
 Mississippi, 56.
 Mitchell, Sir Thomas, Australian discoverer, 95-6.
 Moghuls, Great, 114-18; relations with Surat merchants, 122-4.
 Mohawk, River Gap, 55, 57.
 Moluccas, 119.
 Mombasa, 158.
 Monopolies, in Transvaal, 174-5.
 Monroe Doctrine, 193, 195.
 Montcalm, 61, 62.
 Montreal, 28, 53, 62, 68, 76.
 Moreton Bay (Queensland), separated from N.S.W. in 1859, 101.
 Morocco, 189.
 Municipalities in India, 149.
 Murray River, 81, 83, 94, 95.
 Murrumbidgee River, 83, 95.
 Mussooree, 142.
 Mutiny, Sepoy, in 1857, 138, 143.
 Mysore Wars (four), 140.
 Nadir Shah: sacked Delhi, 1739, 118.
 Napoleon, 47, 89, 93, 98, 137, 160.
 Narbada River, 111, 122.
 Natal: its terraces, 154; devastated by Chaka, 164; first English settlers, 162, 167; conquered by Boers from Dingaan, 1838, 166; Boer Republic, 1838-45, 168; British annexation, 1848, a lasting Boer grievance, 168, 178; Responsible Government, 1893, and entrusted with Zululand administration, 168; defective representation of Kaffirs in Natal legislature, 169; native rebellion, 1906, 172.
 National Insurance Act of 1911, 44.
 Nationality: in Canada, 78; in Burma, 113, 204; in India, a healthy sign, 148-9; consistently fostered by British Empire, 204-5.

- Nationalist Parties: in South Africa, 182-3; in India, 148-9, 208.
- Native question in South Africa, 183, 184.
- Naval Stations (Aden, Perim, Cyprus, Hong-Kong, Singapore, Wei-Hai-Wei), 48.
- Nelson: Europe and the British Empire's debt to him, 22.
- Nepalese war, 142.
- Netherlands East India Co., *see* Dutch.
- New Caledonia, 106, 189.
- Newcastle, England, 17.
- New England, 57.
- Newfoundland, discovered by Cabot, 21; Responsible Government, 76.
- New Guinea, 106, 191.
- New Holland, 86.
- New Jersey, 57, 58.
- New South Wales: N.S.W. Corps, its abuses and quarrels with Governors, 92-3; nominated Legislative Council and squatter influence, 101; *see also* Australia.
- New York, 57, 58, 65.
- New Zealand: why omitted in this volume, p. v; charted by Cook, 86; other references, 80, 95, 169.
- Niagara, 67, 68.
- Nicote, Portuguese adventurer, 119.
- Niger River, 7, 49, 189.
- Norfolk Island, 88, 89.
- North-East and North-West Passages, 28, 86.
- Northern Circars, 131.
- Ohio River, 56, 57, 61.
- Old-Age Pensions Act of 1908, 44.
- Ontario, Lake, 56, 88.
- Orange (North America) *see* Albany.
- Orange Free State, 154, 164, 177, 180.
- Orange River, 156, 164.
- Orange River Colony, *see* Orange Free State.
- Ormuz, Portuguese Island fort at entrance to Persian Gulf, 118.
- Oude, annexation and results, 138.
- Oxley, Australian explorer: quoted, 94.
- Pacific Colonies and Protectorates, 50.
- Panda, 167, 170.
- Panipat: historic Indian battlefield, 110, 116, 118.
- Papal Bull of 1493, resulting in Treaty of Tordesillas, 13.
- Papineau, his rebellion in Lower Canada, 1853, 72.
- Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1864, 1884, 41, 44.
- Parsees, 125.
- Pegu, 114, 141.
- Pennsylvania, 58.
- Pepys, Samuel, 35.
- Perim, 48.
- Persia, 1, 125.
- Persian Gulf, 118, 193.
- Philip II, of Spain: attempt at world-dominion, 19, 22, 23.
- Philippines, 21: Old Spanish route from Panama, 85; under American administration, 196-9; future, 199-200.
- Phillip, first Governor of New South Wales, 88.
- Phoenicians, 2, 3.
- Piet Retief, 166, 167.
- Pilgrim Fathers, 57.
- Pindaris, 118; extirpated by Lord Hastings, 142.
- Pitt: great war minister, 61; India Act of 1784, 144.
- Pizarro, 18.
- Plassey, Battle, 133, 143.
- Plymouth, 7, 22.
- Pocock, Admiral, his battles with d'Aché off Indian coast during Seven Years' War, 132, 133.
- Political Economy, not an exact science, 43.
- Pondicherry, 127, 130, 133, 134.
- Port Jackson, 88, 89.
- Port Phillip (Melbourne), 91, 95, 100.
- Porto Rico, 195, 196.
- Portugal and Portuguese: Empire, 13, 15-17; united to Spanish Empire, 17; causes of decline, 17, 23, 115; in Africa, 16, 155, 158; naval supremacy in Indian waters ended by 1612, 22, 118; Hugli settlement wiped out in 1632 by Moghuls, 126; decadence in the East, 119.
- Portuguese East Africa, 174, 193.
- Potchefstroom, Boer Republic, 1856, 166.
- Presbyterians, 33.
- Press restrictions in India, 138.
- Pretoria, 166, 170, 179.
- Pretorius, 172.

- Protection (by tariffs), 44, 108, 185, 202, 207.
- Protectorates, British, 49, 50.
- Ptolemy, 2.
- Pularoon, spice island, 120.
- Punjab annexed, 138, 141.
- Puritanism, 31, 117.
- 'Quarter-deck' Government in Australia, 88-93.
- Quebec, 53, 62, 65.
- Queensland (Moreton Bay), 101.
- Queen's Proclamation of 1858 (India), 147, 148, 203.
- Quiloa, 158.
- Railways: in Canada, 75, 76, 77; in Australia, 105; in South Africa, 156, 174, 181.
- Rajputs, 116.
- Raleigh's settlement in Virginia, 52.
- Rangoon, 114, 117, 141.
- Regulating Act of 1773 (India), 135, 143, 144.
- Repeal of Corn Laws in 1846, 44.
- Representative Government: defined, 40; developed into Responsible Government during eighteenth century in England, 40; common feature of our early American colonies, 59, 205; did not satisfy Americans in eighteenth century, 65; in Canada, 67-72; in N.S.W., 1842, 99; in India, as in Canada and Philippines, caused strained relations between Executive and Legislature, 149, 150; promised to Transvaal after Boer War, 180; in Philippines, 199.
- Responsible Government: beginnings, 39, 40; defined, 40; might have prevented War of American Independence, 64; recommended by Lord Durham, and adopted in Canada, 72-4; wider applications, 74, 205; in Australia, 100-1; in Cape Colony and Natal, 168; in Transvaal and Free State, 180-1; in India, Secretary of State's announcement August 1917, and steps to fulfil that promise, 150-1.
- Revolutions: of 1688, results, 36-9; 1848 revolutions and their results in Australia, 102; English revolutions usually peaceful, 40.
- Rhodes, Cecil, 176.
- Rhodesia, 154, 176.
- Richelieu River, 53, 55, 65.
- Right of Search, 67, 202.
- Ripon (Lord), Viceroy of Liberal views, 138.
- Roberts (Lord), 141, 179.
- Robinson, the Tasmanian conciliator, 97.
- Roe, Sir Thomas, his visit to Jehangir's court, and advice to directors of East India Co., 123-4.
- Roman Empire: contrasted with British 3, 4; results of its fall, 5.
- Rorke's Drift, 171.
- Royal Society's Expedition to Tahiti in 1768, 85.
- Russia, influence in Afghanistan, 142; Russian Empire, its growth and characteristics, 191; other references, 195, 200.
- Saint Helena, 159.
- St. Lawrence River, 29, 53, 55.
- Salisbury, Prime Minister, 177.
- Salween River, 113.
- Saracens, 8.
- Saratoga, capitulation of, 65.
- Saskatchewan, 77.
- Satpura Hills, 111.
- Saunders, Admiral, took Louisberg and Quebec, 62, 85.
- Sea Power: neglected by Spain, 19; French and English, in sixteenth century, 21, 22; in East Indies, 111, 118-20, 125, 126, 129, 130, 132, 134, 140; in Atlantic, 34, 65, 67, 75; English sea power and freedom of the sea, 201, 202.
- Selborne, Lord: his memorandum on South African Union, 181.
- Self-government, Anglo-Saxon system introduced into Britain, and slow growth of English Parliamentary system, 5; distinctive feature of early American colonies, 59; slow progress in India during nineteenth century, and rapid progress in twentieth century, 149, 150, 151; in Philippines, 197, 199; its encouragement a special feature of the British Empire, 107, 205; insistently demanded after the Great War in India and Egypt, 207-9.
- Senegal, 9, 189.

- Sepoys, drilled by Portuguese and Dupleix, 129; Mutiny of 1857, 138, 143.
 Seven Years' War and its results: in America, 47, 60, 62; in India, 132-4.
 Shah Jehan, 116.
 Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, annexes Transvaal, 170; relations with Cetywayo, 170-1.
 Shivaji, 117, 124.
 Siam, a snare to Burmese kings, 113.
 Sicily, 3.
 Sidney, 88.
 Sierra Leone, 46, 80.
 Sikh wars (two), 141.
 Simla, acquired after Nepalese War in 1816, 142.
 Sind, unjustifiable wars and annexations, 142.
 Sittang River, 113.
 Slave Trade: at beginnings of Portuguese Empire, 9; feature of Spanish Empire, 20; history of abolition movement, 20; abolished in South Africa, 162; other references, 146, 147, 161, 201, 203.
 Smuts, Boer statesman and general, 183.
 Socialism: in Australia, a result of convict origin, geographical isolation and gold rushes, 80, 103-5, 106, 108.
 Sofala, 158.
 Somaliland, 51, 189, 194.
 South Africa: geographical features and their influence on history, 154-7; crowded and troubled story, 157; Dutch occupation, 158-60; British at the Cape from 1806, 160 seq.; Great Trek and clash of black and white immigration, 163; its results, 162-8; annexations of Natal, 1848, 168, and Transvaal, 1877, 169; Zulu Empire and Wars, 163, 171-2; first Boer War, 1880, 172; second Transvaal Republic, 1880-99, 173; Jameson Raid, 1896, 176; second Boer War, 1899-1902, 178-80; Responsible Government in the Transvaal, 1907, 180; Union, 1910, 181; effect of Great War, and internal difficulties (Nationalist party, native question, Indian immigration), 182-6.
 South America, 195.
 South Australia, 100, 103, 106.
 Spain, her Empire, 18-21; causes of decline, 18, 24; war with U.S.A., 195; other reference, 195.
 Spice Islands, 27, 119-21.
 Spice Trade, its historical importance, 8, 11.
 Stuart (Australian explorer), 96.
 Stuart Period, 32-4.
 Sturt (Australian explorer) solved the 'riddle of the rivers', 95.
 Subsidiary Alliance Policy (India), 137.
 Succession Act of 1701, 38.
 Sudan, 49, 189.
 Suffren, French Admiral: successes in India, 134; at the Cape, 160.
 Sunda Straits, 120.
 Superior, Lake, 56, 76.
 Suraj-ad-daula, 132.
 Surat: Dutch there, 121; British there after 1608, 122; geographical position, 122; becomes unsatisfactory dépôt for British trade, 124.
 Taft, Governor of Philippines and President U.S.A., 198.
 Tahiti: visited by Cook, 85-6; occupied by France, 1853, 106.
 Tapti River, 111, 122.
 Tariff Reform, *see* Protection.
 Tasmania, 88, 91; extermination of natives, 96-8; other reference, 103.
 Tavernier, French traveller in India, 117.
 Tenasserim, 113, 141.
 Ternate, in Amboyna, 119.
 Territories and dependencies of U.S.A., 196.
 Ticonderoga, 61.
 Timur, 115.
 Tipu of Mysore, 139.
 Togoland, 191.
 Tordesillas, Treaty of, 13.
 Torres Strait, 86.
 Transvaal, 154; difficulties of first Boer Republic ended by annexation, 166, 169; second Boer Republic, 1880-99, 173-80; defensive alliance with Free State, 177; Responsible Government, 180.

- Tripoli, 194.
 Trusteeship as an obligation of Empire, 188, 190, 193, 194, 195, 200, 203-4.
 Tudor Period: its four characteristics (maritime enterprise, Renaissance, Reformation, popular despotism), 30-2; compared to modern Indian period, 30.
 Tugela River, 166, 171.
 Turkestan: Russian difficulties there, 191.
 Turkey: after capture of Constantinople, a barrier of barbarism between east and west, 8; other references, 49, 193.
 Uitlanders, grievances under Transvaal Republic and agitation for political reform, 174-7.
 Union of South Africa, its formation and how tested, 181, 186.
 United Empire Loyalists, 66, 69, 78.
 United States of America as an Imperial power, 195, 200, 203; its territories and dependencies, 196; other references, 63, 67, 71, 75, 77, 78, 108, 160, 188, 191, 192.
 Vaal River, 164, 165.
 Van Dieman's Land, *see* Tasmania.
 Van Reenen's Pass, 154, 166.
 Vasco da Gama, his discoveries and their importance, 11, 15, 16.
 Venice: greatness in Middle Ages, 8; encouragement of naval enterprise, 9; decline from greatness, 15.
 Versailles, Treaties of 1783 and 1919, 47, 204.
 Viceroy of India, 135, 136, 138.
 Victoria (Australia), 100, 102; *see also* Port Phillip.
 Vindhya Hills, 111.
 Virginia, 42, 58.
 Volksraad, 170, 174, 175, 176.
 Walpole: his twenty-five years' peace, 39, 127.
 Wandiwash, battle, 133.
 Washington, 60.
 Watson, Admiral, 132.
 Weenen (town and county in Natal), 167.
 Wellesley, Lord: a whole-hearted empire-builder, 46; summary of Indian administration, 136.
 Wellington, Duke of, 137.
 Wentworth, N.S.W. statesman, 93, 99.
 West Indies: why omitted in this volume, p. iv; referred to, 13, 47.
 Western Australia, 98, 103.
 Whigs and Tories, 39.
 William the Conqueror, 6.
 William III (of Orange), results of his accession, 36, 38.
 Wilson, President U.S.A., 199, 200.
 Wimera (Victoria), called Australia Felix, 95.
 Winnipeg, 56, 76.
 Witenagemot, 5.
 Wolfe, General, 61.
 Wolseley, Sir Garnet, promise of continued British rule in Transvaal, 1879, 173.
 Workmen's Combination Act repealed in 1824, 44.
 Workmen's Compensation Act, 44.
 York, Cape, 86.
 Young Men's Christian Association, 203.
 Zaghlul, Pasha, 49.
 Zambezi, 154, 157.
 Zulus and Zululand, 155; Zulu immigration meets European, 163; Zulu Empire, 163-4; Zulus conquered by Dutch in Natal in 1838, 166, 167; a menace to first Transvaal Republic, 166; Zulu war of 1879 and subsequent history, 170-1; under Natal, 1897-1910, 168, 172; exclusion from Zululand a Boer grievance, 168, 178.

